

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

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GUSTAV GRUENBAUM

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CONTENTS

| | | |
|--|-----------|-----|
| TOLMAN, A. H.—The Structure of Shakespeare's Tragedies with special reference to 'Coriolanus,' | - - - - - | 449 |
| PEERS, E. A.—The Fortunes of Lamartine in Spain, | - - - - - | 458 |
| LANCASTER, H. C.—Errors in Beauchamps' 'Recherches sur les théâtres de France,' | - - - - - | 466 |
| WANN, L.—Milton's 'Lycidas' and the Play of 'Barnaveit,' | - - - - - | 470 |
| GLICKSMAN, H.—A Comment on Milton's 'History of Britain,' | - - - - - | 474 |
| CRAWFORD, A. W.—Keats's 'Ode to the Nightingale,' | - - - - - | 476 |

Reviews:—

| | | |
|--|-----------|-----|
| HARRY MAYNO, Immermann. Der Mann und sein Werk im Rahmen der Zeit- und Literaturgeschichte; | | |
| HERBERT LEVIN, Die Heidelberger Romantik; | | |
| WILHELM KOSCH, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im Spiegel der nationalen Entwicklung von 1813-1918; | | |
| MATTHEW G. BACH, Wieland's Attitude toward Woman and her Cultural and Social Relations. [A. W. Porterfield.] | - - - - - | 482 |
| GEOFFROY ATKINSON, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700; The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720. [G. Chinard.] | - - - - - | 491 |
| CHAUNCEY B. TINKER, Young Boswell: Chapters on James Boswell, the Biographer, based largely on new material. [E. D. Snyder.] | - - - - - | 498 |
| ROBERT L. RAMSAY, Short Stories of America. [J. C. French.] | - - - - - | 502 |

Correspondence:—

| | | |
|--|-----------|-----|
| BALDWIN, T. W., On <i>King Lear</i> , | - - - - - | 504 |
| HAMMOND, ELEANOR P., Poems "Signed" by Sir Thomas Wyatt, | - - - - - | 505 |

Brief Mention:—

| | | |
|--|-----------|-----|
| J. MIDDLETON MURRY, The Problem of Style;—G. N. HENNING, Hervieu, <i>La Course du flambeau</i> ;—PAUL KRETSCHMER, Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache, | - - - - - | 506 |
|--|-----------|-----|

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THE STRUCTURE OF SHAKESPEARE'S TRAGEDIES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO *CORIOLANUS*

The late Henry N. Hudson was a great admirer of Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*. He said:

I hold it to be among his greatest triumphs in organization: I cannot point out, I believe no one has pointed out, a single instance where the parts might have been better ordered for the proper effect of the whole; . . . the unity of impression is literally perfect. In this great point of dramatic architecture, I think it bears the palm clean away from both the other Roman tragedies; and indeed I am not sure but it should be set down as the peer of *Othello*.¹

A German scholar, Heinrich Viehoff, is also positive that no drama of the master is superior to this in artistic completeness and effectiveness.²

Professor MacCallum thinks *Coriolanus* to be "technically and artistically a more perfect achievement" than either of Shakespeare's previous Roman plays.³

The question naturally arises: how far is the drama indebted to Plutarch for its unity and power? But one has only to read the two accounts side by side to see in what an endless variety of ways Shakespeare has condensed, hastened, unified, intensified, and supplemented the somewhat wandering story of Plutarch. Shakespeare himself is the real source of the intimate, vigorous dramatic life that permeates the play. He recasts his material more freely here than in *Julius Caesar* or *Antony and Cleopatra*. He improves

¹ *Harvard Shakespeare*, Ginn, 1881, Vol. XVIII, p. 180.

² *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, IV (1869), pp. 41 f.

³ *Shakespeare's Roman Plays*, 1910, p. 479.

upon his original in the greater vividness of the characters and in the closeness and skill of the interweaving.

Excepting Coriolanus himself all of the characters in Plutarch's sketch are faint and vague.⁴ In Plutarch Menenius does not appear again after telling the fable of the belly and the members. The tribunes disappear after Marcius is banished. Aufidius is not mentioned until Marcius goes to his house, and is not present at the great scene between Coriolanus and his mother. Volumnia has nothing to do with the suit of Marcius for the consulship; and his solicitation for that office is not brought into any connection either with the war against the Volscians or with the banishment of the hero.⁵

That the speech in which Coriolanus announces himself to Aufidius follows Plutarch closely, and that "nowhere has Shakespeare borrowed so much through so great a number of lines as in Volumnia's appeal to the piety of her son"⁶ are facts which easily mislead one as to the extent of the poet's indebtedness to his source. And the telling close of Volumnia's plea, which finally overpowers the hero, is new to Shakespeare:

Come, let us go.

This fellow had a Volscian to his mother;

His wife is in Corioli, and his child

Like him by chance.—Yet give us our dispatch.

I am hush'd until our city be a-fire,

And then I'll speak a little.

(V, iii, 177-182.)

I must admit that the play seems to me defective at one point. In Plutarch the opportune and skillful recounting of the fable of the belly and the members by Menenius causes the plebeians to become reconciled to the patricians on condition that the people be granted tribunes with ample power. In the play, while Menenius is talking to one body of plebeians, another company obtains from the hostile patricians the concession that they may have tribunes to protect them. This granting of tribunes has no natural

⁴ MacCallum, p. 494.

⁵ Delius has presented in some detail the relation of the play to the source in *Abhandlungen zu Shakspeare*, 1889, I, 388-416. Reprinted from the *Jahrbuch* for 1876. See also the work of MacCallum.

⁶ MacCallum, p. 484.

relation to the bread-riot which Shakespeare has depicted. The populace "ask for bread and get a magistrate."⁷ Shakespeare makes the colloquy between Menenius and his audience supremely vivid and interesting. Hardly any serio-comic passage in the plays reads better. But because it is not made causative in any way, super-excellent as it is in itself, it is good *for* nothing. Surely this is an artistic mistake, an unfortunate alteration of the story of Plutarch.

The play has been criticized at another point. Coleridge felt that the treacherous Aufidius of I, x, who longs to wash his fierce hand in the heart of Caius Marcius, and the hospitable Aufidius, who welcomes to Antium his former enemy (IV, v), cannot be the same person.⁸ I do not recognize any inconsistency here. The impulsive warmth with which the Volscian leader receives Coriolanus is natural enough, but it represents an attitude that cannot endure, both men being what they are. However, a recent scholarly study of the play seeks to explain how Shakespeare came to portray "two Aufidiuses," and makes this comment:

Aufidius is the weak point of the play. Dramatically, his function is to play in the second part of the play the rôle held by Sicinius and Brutus, the Tribunes, in the first, but to play it with more steadiness of hatred even than they, because Aufidius has to accomplish Coriolanus's death, while the Tribunes need only his exile. But whereas the Tribunes play the part to the life, . . . Aufidius is as impulsive as Coriolanus himself, and as evidently incapable of plotting as he. Instead of being plainer to us than Sicinius and Brutus, he becomes ten times as shadowy.⁹

I will call attention here to the whole-souled sympathy of approbation which the late Professor Barrett Wendell bestowed upon the character of Coriolanus. I quote a few expressions:

The people, . . . that great underlying mass of humanity . . . is presented in *Coriolanus* with ultimate precision. . . . The fate of Coriolanus . . . comes from no decadence, no corruption, no vicious weakness, but rather from a passionate excess of inherently noble traits, whose very nobility unfits them for survival in the ignoble world about them. . . . In *Coriolanus* we find Shakspeare, with almost cynical coldness, artistically

⁷ MacCallum, p. 525.

⁸ *Lectures on Shakspeare*, Bell, p. 310.

⁹ "Coriolanus," *The London Times Literary Supplement*, July 27, 1922, 481 f.

expounding the inherent weakness of moral nobility, the inherent strength and power of all that is intellectually and morally vile.¹⁰

It makes one rub one's eyes to read such an estimate of the proud, intractable, passionate, self-destroyed Coriolanus.

Gustav Freytag pointed out that tragedies naturally fall into two classes. In one class, the action is initiated by the central figure, the hero; in the other type, some great opponent of the hero is the initiating agent, or some group of opponents.¹¹ Let us call these two contrasted kinds of tragedy the Macbeth type and the Othello type.

Each of these kinds has a characteristic danger. In a tragedy of the Macbeth type, the usual kind, the resolution or fall of the action, previous to the actual catastrophe, is apt to be somewhat distracting and lacking in interest. In general, we may say that the fourth act is likely to prove comparatively weak. Let us look into the reasons for this.

During the first part of *Macbeth*, or any play of that class, the hero monopolizes our interest. We see him boldly assert himself and reach out after some coveted prize; and our sympathy goes out to this challenging, aggressive leader. But at last he takes some fatal step, and we feel that his ruin has begun. The opposition to the hero, the counterplay, must now take the lead, since it is destined to destroy him. This opposition may have several leaders, such as Malcolm, Macduff, and the other nobles in *Macbeth*. Some of these leaders are likely to be almost new; none of them interests us in comparison with the great hero; and their number cannot compensate for their relative insignificance. The slow defeat of the hero is an unpleasant spectacle, and we have not yet reached the compensating intensity of the tragic close. Because the opposition now claims our attention, the leading character is apt to be absent from the stage for a time. In *Macbeth* the play travels off to England for a disproportionately long scene, and the hero is neglected; Hamlet is sent away to England, while the foreground is filled with the plotting of the King and Laertes,

¹⁰ William Shakspeare, 1894, pp. 329, 330, 334. I have been much helped by this stimulating book, though here disagreeing with it.

¹¹ *Die Technik des Dramas*, 7te Aufl., Leipzig, 1894, pp. 93 ff. In the Eng. translation, Chicago, 2d ed. 1896, pp. 104 ff.

and with the pathetic ravings of Ophelia; in *Julius Caesar* Antony and Octavius are in power.

Indeed, the resolution of any play is apt to be somewhat lacking in interest, because of the fact that the outcome of the play has by this time been pretty clearly indicated and prepared for. All of us have something of the interest of a child or of an untrained spectator in the mere going on of the story, in the question how the affair will turn out; and, however well known the play is, we all take the point of view of one hearing it for the first time. The play loses something of its zest and charm when the progress of the action indicates plainly what the outcome will be. Especially in a great tragedy, the catastrophe has been clearly pointed out and arranged for by the time the fourth act is well under way. At this point, therefore, the audience is naturally disposed to dulness and lack of interest.

It is evident that tragedies of the type of *Othello* have an advantage at this stage of the action where tragedies of the *Macbeth* type are in danger. The action of *Othello* really begins with the plot of Iago against Othello and Desdemona, at the close of the first act; and from this point on that villain manages everything, while the Moor is the unsuspecting victim of his wiles. In the great third scene of Act III, Iago convinces the hero of the guilt of Desdemona. Othello, roused to fury, calls forth our most intense interest and compassion as he storms on toward the doom that awaits him. We are deeply stirred with sympathy during just that stage of the action which in *Macbeth* and similar tragedies tends to be distracting and weak.

Freytag says of tragedies of the *Othello* type:

It might appear that this method of dramatic construction must be the more effective. Gradually, in a specially careful presentation, one sees the conflicts through which the life of the hero is disturbed give direction to the hidden forces of his nature. Just there, where the hearer demands a powerful intensifying of effects, the previously prepared leadership of the chief characters begins; suspense and sympathy, which are more difficult to sustain in the last half of the play, are firmly fixed upon the chief characters; the stormy and irresistible progress downward to destruction is particularly favorable to powerful and thrilling effects.¹²

There is one portion of tragedies of the *Othello* type, however, which it is hard to make successful, and that is the complication,

¹² P. 96; in the translation (not followed here), p. 108.

speaking roughly the second act of the play and the first part of the third. Here the hero is passive, inert; others are plotting against him; he is ignorant of the true state of the case; he is deceived and hoodwinked. How shall we be interested in such a hero and sympathize with him? It has been said that there are communities to-day that would be inclined, in witnessing the drama, to sympathize with Iago rather than with Othello.

Shakespeare overcomes this great difficulty in the action of *Othello* by means of the character of Iago. He makes that officer such a subtle schemer, such a smooth and attractive deceiver, that we do not consider Othello either weak or foolish because he is deceived and led on to his ruin by the machinations of his pretended friend.

It is generally recognized that Iago is Shakespeare's most consummate villain, but it is perhaps not clearly seen that he had to be this, or else the play would be a partial failure. It is only because Iago is such a subtle and masterly villain that we can see him dupe the unsuspecting Othello without impairing our respect for that noble, high-minded hero. But there can be no question about the reality of the danger to which the play is exposed at this point, the danger that Othello shall appear a weak and unworthy character rather than one really tragic.

We see clearly that the Macbeth and Othello types of tragedy are the exact counterparts of each other. It is comparatively easy in a play of the Macbeth type to make the complication successful, but a difficult matter to make the resolution strong and effective. In a play of the Othello type the case is just reversed; the complication is for the playwright the more dangerous and difficult stage of the action; but throughout the closing half of the play the hero fills the stage, and the interest of the audience is assured. It is safe to say that the intense tragic power manifest in the second half of *Othello* is surpassed by nothing in the dramatic literature of the world.

King Lear has not yet been mentioned here among the illustrations of dramatic structure. The late Professor Price of Columbia University pointed out that the story of *King Lear* by itself "is only a psychological study." The fatal step of Lear is the laying down of his royal power. After that, he "is incapable of any action at all. He is simply driven, by force of circumstances,

as the result of the action already done, into deeper and deeper depths of humiliation and misery."

The pitiful story of the mad king, after the 1st scene of the 1st Act, was, as Shakspeare rightly saw, devoid of the true dramatic quality, and incapable of shaping itself into a real drama. This was the reason that led him, as I think, to supplement the story of Lear and Cordelia by the story of Gloucester and Edmund. . . . For the story of Edmund had in itself just what the story of Lear lacked, the definite dramatic emotion and the definite dramatic action. It was capable, therefore, of absorbing into itself the story of Lear's calamities, and of carrying it along with itself to a dramatic conclusion. As the result of this fusion, it is the study of Lear's character and the picture of his mental decay that form the pathos and the vital charm of the poem; but it is the passion and the action of Edmund, the rise and downfall of his fortunes, that supply the form of the drama and its dramatic movement.¹³

The Edmund story, the only complete, structural action in this play, is plainly of the Macbeth type. Macbeth and Edmund are both villain-heroes, each reaching out to grasp a forbidden prize.

In the action of *Coriolanus* there is no dead point. Every scene is vital, every character is both helpful and consistent, every element of the play contributes to an interesting, constantly developing unity of effect.¹⁴ Why is it that this drama is pre-eminent among the plays of Shakespeare in these respects?

Two closely related actions make up the drama. The main action, the strife between Brutus and Sicinius, the leaders of the plebeians, and Caius Marcius, is prepared for at once in the outspoken bitterness of the common people toward their especial enemy. The second action, the contest between Marcius and the Volscians under Aufidius, is so closely involved with the first that it does not impair the unity. The play is not divided because of this second line of interest, it is enriched and enlarged. The interweaving of the two strands is intimate, complete. The character, the deeds, and the fate of Caius Marcius constitute the absorbing interest in which both actions are united.

The first war against the Volscians, in which Corioli is captured and Marcius wins his title 'Coriolanus,' is felt to some degree as a separate portion of the play. The Volscians begin this conflict,

¹³ *Publications of the Modern Language Assoc. of America*, ix (1894), pp. 174-75.

¹⁴ See Viehoff's article in *Jahrbuch*, iv, already cited.

but Marcius at once takes the leadership against them. Shakespeare represents him as the only Roman who foresaw and foretold this struggle; this gives him distinct pre-eminence.

First Senator. Marcius, 'tis true that you have lately told us;
The Volscies are in arms. (I, i, 231-32.)

The energy with which Marcius throws himself into this war, his extravagant bravery and prowess in entering the gates of Corioli alone and fighting his way safely out, his winning of the city, his hurrying to the relief of the army of Cominius, his single-handed defeat of Aufidius and his companions, and the bestowal upon him of the proud title 'Coriolanus,'—all these things mark him as the active leader and hero of the war. We feel this portion of the story as a separate action of the Macbeth type.

This victory makes our hero the natural candidate for the consulship, in accordance with the heart's desire of his mother. He reluctantly asks the people to accept him as consul, to give their 'voices' in his behalf. In spite of his haughty manner they grant his request. The tribunes Sicinius and Brutus then induce the citizens to withdraw their assent. This will so enrage Coriolanus as to bring about his overthrow.

Brutus . . . If, as his nature is, he fall in rage
With their refusal, both observe and answer
The vantage of his anger. (II, iii, 266-68.)

The plot succeeds. Coriolanus is so angered by the fickleness of the populace that he demands that the grant to them of tribunes be revoked. For this proposal his death is demanded. Yielding to his mother's entreaty he tries to speak gently to the plebeians; but a new fit of anger overcomes him, he explodes in words that cannot be forgiven, and the doom of banishment is pronounced against him. As he departs into exile, he says ominously:

I go alone,
Like to a lonely dragon, that his fen
Makes fear'd and talk'd of more than seen. (IV, i, 29-31.)

Later he offers himself to Aufidius as an ally, and leads a Volscian army against Rome. The eloquent pleading of his mother saves the city from destruction, but leads directly to his own death at the hands of Aufidius and his friends.

This action of the tribunes against Coriolanus is distinctly of the Othello type, but it is strikingly free from the dangers to which that type is exposed. The plotting of Brutus and Sicinius is so skillful and so well covered up, it is so condensed, and directed so effectively to the weak points in the character of Coriolanus, that its plausibility is complete. Skillful as is the management of the plot in Othello, it is not so entirely plausible as the main action of this play.¹⁵

Thus the deft combination of what we feel to be an action of the Macbeth type with one distinctly of the Othello type gives to the whole play an intense and unremitting energy that it would be hard to parallel. The first portion of the play has the energy and success that mark an opening of the Macbeth type; the close of the play is of the Othello sort, and has the intense power which distinguishes an action of this kind. Our attention is fixed upon the hero at all times. He takes the lead both in his own exaltation and in his own destruction.

When Coriolanus gives up his revengeful purpose and yields to the entreaty of his mother, he wins our sympathy, and at the same time insures his own ruin. This moral victory gives pathos to the scene of his death, the close of the play. The heart of the spectator is uplifted and purified.

If *Coriolanus* is so admirable as a work of art, why has it never been popular? Professor A. C. Bradley points out that the drama has not the universality that marks the greatest tragedies, that it does not employ the supernatural, that nature is not treated imaginatively "as a vaster fellow-actor and fellow-sufferer," that there is no exhibition of inward conflict, and that there is "never such magical poetry as we hear in the four greatest tragedies."¹⁶

It is also true that the anti-democratic spirit of the play is displeasing to many.¹⁷ The English-speaking nations, interested

¹⁵ Professor E. E. Stoll, *Othello: An Historical and Comparative Study*, The University of Minnesota, 1915, holds that the plot of *Othello* is lacking in plausibility. He is partly answered by E. K. Chambers in *The Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1916, pp. 466-67.

¹⁶ *Coriolanus* (Lecture before the British Academy), Oxford University Press, 1912, pp. 4-5.

¹⁷ I have discussed this feature in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIX (1914), pp. 285-86, 290.

in making the world safe for democracy, cannot sympathize fully with a play that flatly contradicts Plutarch's account in order to represent the Roman populace as completely fickle, incapable, cowardly, and subject to demagogues.

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THE FORTUNES OF LAMARTINE IN SPAIN

Larra, in his review of Martínez de la Rosa's poems (*Revista Española*, No. 91, Sept. 3, 1833) remarks that the day of Gessner and Meléndez is passed in Spain, and that that of Lamartine and Byron has arrived. "Buscamos más bien," are his words, "*la importante y profunda inspiración de Lamartine, y hasta la desconsoladora filosofía de Byron que la ligera y fugitiva impresión de Anacreonte.*"

The famous critic seems to have been somewhat impressed by the importance of the work of Lamartine to the then unformed Romanticism of Spain. When in 1835 he wishes to characterize the bucolic poems of J. B. Alonso, it is with Byron and Lamartine that he contrasts him (*Revista Española*, No. 484, Feb. 19, 1835),¹ and we meet so constantly collocations like "Chateaubriand y Lamartine," "Walter Scott, Casimir Delavigne y Lamartine," "Victor Hugo y Lamartine," that it is quite superfluous to cite references. To Larra Lamartine was certainly one of the foremost Romantic poets of the day.

But he had also been recognized in Spain as a leading Romantic

¹ "Examinemos el libro en venta, no ya comparando a nuestro autor con lord Byron o Lamartine, puesto que su género es tan distinto que difícilmente se le pudieran hallar puntos de contacto."

The collocation of Byron and Lamartine, which to modern ears sounds strange, may well be due to the latter's preoccupation with Byron. Cf. *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz*, May 6, 1827, where an anonymous writer even says of Byron: "El más sobresaliente de sus imitadores ha sido el francés La-Martine." An article in the *Revista Española* of May 23, 1834 (on the *Moro Expósito*), which some have thought to be by Larra, insists upon the essentially different character of the Romanticism of Byron and Lamartine.

more than ten years before. The importance of the cosmopolitan *Europeo*² in the evolution of Spanish Romanticism is generally recognized, although its influence may perhaps not always have been as great as its merits warranted. Among the literary notices and reviews written by Aribau as early as 1823 we find the following:

M. A. de Lamartine, ya conocido por sus *Meditaciones poéticas*, ha publicado una nueva producción de su raro ingenio que hace concebir a su patria las más bellas esperanzas. Su título es *La Muerte de Sócrates*. La única noticia circunstanciada que tenemos es el ventajoso anuncio que de ella hace el diario de debates del 14 de setiembre último, el cual cita fragmentos verdaderamente apreciables. Todos llevan el carácter de las ideas religiosas que descubre ya el autor en sus primeras composiciones: sus ideas son sencillas, su expresión enérgica y elegante.

Then follows a short extract from the review mentioned, translated into Spanish.³

Yet, when we turn to the part which Lamartine actually played in the formation of Spanish Romanticism, we are reminded that the *Europeo* was not an entirely representative Spanish journal. The influence of the poet, indeed, seems to have been very small: in the first half of the nineteenth century he is little but a name in Spain. The only translations of Lamartine in book form, for example, which I have found, prior to 1850, are the following:

Poesías entresacadas de las obras de A. de Lamartine, traducidas por el Marqués de Casa-Tara (D. T. M. de Berriozabal); Madrid, Aguado, 1839. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

Viaje a la Palestina; Valencia, Cervera, 1844. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

Viaje al Oriente, traducido por . . . ; Madrid, Madoz, 1846. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.)

Historia de los Girondinos; Madrid, 1847. (In Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; as is also a translation published in Mexico, 1848.)

Rafael, páginas de los veinte años, traducidas por V. Balaguer. Barcelona, 1849. (In library of the University of Barcelona.)

Hidalgo adds (but I have not traced these):

Viaje a Oriente; Córdoba, 1840; Paris 1843.

² See, for a general account of this periodical, *Modern Language Review*, October, 1920, pp. 375-382.

³ *Europeo*, 1823, p. 355.

Historia de los Girondinos; Madrid, 1847; Madrid, 1847-8; Sevilla, 1847-8.

Rafael, Madrid, 1849 (three translations).

Las Confidencias, 1849.

Compare with this the following chronological list, which represents translations published in book form subsequently to 1850:⁴

1850. Historia de la Revolución de 1848 (together with several undated translations of the same work).

1851. Historia de la Restauración (two separate translations, and there are two more bearing no date).

1852. El Civilizador. (Retratos históricos.)

1851-2. Historia de los Girondinos.

(1853. Historia de la Restauración, published in Mexico.)

1853. Genoveva; Toussaint l'Ouverture. (Translated as "Dos perlas literarias.") Graziella (Hid.).

1854. Historia de los Girondinos; Graziella (Hid.); Rafael (Hid.).

1856. Graziella (Hid.).

1857. Piconpedrero; Genoveva; Rafael (all Hid.).

1858. El Civilizador.

(1860. Las Nuevas Confidencias, traducidas por J. J. Borda; Bogotá, 1860. In British Museum.)

1860. Picapedrero de S. Point; Graziella.

1860. Genoveva (popular and recent translations of which are also listed in the *Biblioteca rosa* and the *Biblioteca selecta*).

1864-6. Las Confidencias, Nuevas Confidencias y Ultimas Confidencias.

1864. Biografía de Colón. (Also published in the *Biblioteca universal*.)

1875. Jocelyn.

1876. Cicerón.

1886. Regina.

1887. Regina.

1904. Historia de los Girondinos.

1913. Jocelyn.

1913. Jocelyn.

1919. Graziella.

The significance of these two chronological lists is clear. In spite of the recognition by Aribau, Larra, and others of the merit and importance of Lamartine's contributions to literature, his

⁴I have suppressed the full details in this list, as the individual translations are less important than the earlier ones. All these translations are to be found in the Biblioteca Nacional, except where the name of another library is added to the title.

poetry found but little acceptance in Spain. Neither the *Méditations poétiques*, which heralded French Romanticism in 1820, nor the *Nouvelles Méditations* (1823), nor the *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses* (1830) seem to have been translated in their entirety. A volume of selections, published in 1839, is all that takes their place before 1850. The fact that Chateaubriand's accounts of his journeys had already had some vogue in Spain may account for the two comparatively early translations of Lamartine's travels.⁵ *Raphaël*, it will be noted, was translated in the very year of its appearance by the alert young *literato*, Victor Balaguer. But the earlier collections met with little or no welcome.

Lamartine's historico-political writings, on the other hand, met with a reception which contrasts strongly with that accorded to his verse. The "History of the Revolution of 1848" is translated in 1850; that of the Restoration is translated in the year of its appearance in France, and that twice; by 1853, further, it has appeared in Mexico. The *Histoire des Girondins* also comes out four times in Spanish in the year of its original publication; it is published the next year in Mexico, and is twice more translated into Spanish within the next six years.

The notices of Lamartine appearing in the Spanish press bear out the estimate of his influence in Spain which is suggested by the bibliography given above. In 1825 a writer in the *Ocios de Españoles emigrados*, which was published in London from 1824 to 1827, compares Heredia's poetry with the "tinte melancólico y severo de Mr. La Martine."⁶ In the same year *Variedades*, Blanco White's organ, also published in London, prints a rather tardy review of the *Méditations poétiques*.⁷ But both these writers were in a country where Lamartine was already known. Into Spain he penetrated less quickly.

⁵ Though the complete translations did not appear till 1844 and 1846, it is worth placing on record that *El Español* (Nov. 14, 1835) published a fragment from the *Voyage en Orient* in the year of its first appearance in French.

⁶ IV, 516.

⁷ II, 218 ff. Lamartine and Casimir Delavigne appear to serve as a pretext for a lengthy article on contemporary literature in general, but Blanco White goes so far as to say: "La Martine es sin disputa el mejor de los poetas que hoy viven en Francia," to give three long selections from the *Méditations*, and to add a short appreciation of them.

It was the end of 1832 before the *Diario de Barcelona* published some translations, of which the best is a version of *Le Soir* (from the *Premières Méditations*). Of this the writer, speaking of Lamartine, says: "Ha sabido vestir los grandiosos conceptos del lírico francés con la enérgica naturalidad de Rioja y la sonora afluencia de León . . . un digno modelo de la profundidad, novedad y filosofía."⁸

Eugenio de Ochoa, writing in the *Artista* for 1835, shows a knowledge of the *Méditations* by quoting at length from Nodier's preface to the eleventh edition (Gosselin, 1824).⁹ Fermin de la Puente in 1838 translates Lamartine's verses on the death of his only daughter, *Gethsemani, ou la Mort de Julia*, and prints the translation in the *Revista andaluza* three years later.¹⁰ In the *Revista española de ambos mundos* for 1853 there is a translation of Lamartine's *Graziella*,¹¹ which had first appeared in French in the preceding year. But the majority of these notices and single translations are belated; and most of the biographical and critical articles are not primarily concerned with Lamartine as a poet at all.¹²

The Lamartinian work of Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda should perhaps be cited as an exception, and though much of it belongs to a later period, she may well be mentioned at this point. In *El Español* for 1841 she published a translation¹³ of Lamartine's *Bonaparte*, and this is re-published, not in its original form, but with certain emendations and additions, in her collected works (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1869, I, 29-34) as an "imitation" entitled *A la tumba de Napoleon en Santa Elena*. The opening stanzas are more correctly an exact translation,¹⁴ and throughout

⁸ *Diario de Barcelona*, Sept. 10, 1832, and Sept. 23, 1833.

⁹ *Artista*, 1835, I, 86-90.

¹⁰ *Revista andaluza*, 1841, pp. 431-7.

¹¹ I, 74-96; 203-224; 334-357.

¹² An unsigned article in the *Alhambra* (1839, II, 59-60) is typical when it speaks of him as one of the many "apóstoles populares de ideas útiles y generosos sentimientos."

¹³ It had previously appeared in the *Alhambra* (published in Granada) for 1840, over the writer's pseudonym of "La Peregrina."

¹⁴ *Sobre un escollo, por el mar* Sur un écueil battu par la vague
batido, plaintive,

it would be more correct to term the poem (even in its emended form) a free translation than an imitation. The same translator's *Adios a la lira* (ed. cit., I, 266-8), however, is, as it professes to be, an imitation of Lamartine's *Adieux à la poésie*, which, like *Bonaparte*, is to be found in the *Nouvelles méditations*; and a final tribute¹⁵ is her *Dedicación de la lira a Dios* (I, 387-391), which bears the subtitle "Composición inspirada por una bella invocación de Lamartine." This last probably owes its inspiration to the *Invocation* of the *Harmonies* rather than to the better-known poem of the same name which appeared in the *Premières méditations*. The resemblance is, in any case, one of theme and spirit, and not of letter or of form; la Avellaneda repeats and accentuates the tone of self-abasement, lengthening the poem, varying the metre, and making explicit what Lamartine's lines often only imply. Apart from these translations and imitations there is much in the religious inspiration of la Avellaneda's poetry which recalls Lamartine, though her debt to Victor Hugo,—even to Parny—could no doubt be shown to be equally great.

But whatever small success Lamartine attained to in Spain as a poet was very soon outshone by his reputation as a politician and a historian. The student may consult the review *El Pensamiento* (1848-9), which devotes more space to the poet than any other contemporary journal which I have seen. There are some translations entitled *Escenas d'ela revolución francesa*.¹⁶ Lamartine is "el poético historiador de los Girondinos," says an introduction, referring further to his published defense of his conduct, and sympathizing with his fall. There is no space, nor is it well,

El marinero desde lejos mira
De una tumba brillar la blanca
 piedra,
Y entre el verde tejido
De la zarza y la hiedra
Que unidas flotan en flexibles
 lazos,
Sobre la humilde losa se des-
 cubre
¡Un cetro hecho pedazos!

Le nautonier, de loin, voit blan-
 chir sur la rive
Un tombeau près du bord pur les
 flots déposé;
Le temps n'a pas encore bruni
 l'étroite pierre,
Et sous le vert tissu de la ronce et
 du lierre
On distingue un sceptre
 brisé.

¹⁵ Apart, that is, from various indications, such as epigraphs, which bear testimony to her study of Lamartine, e. g., I, 60, 65, 93.

¹⁶ *El Pensamiento* (in the British Museum), I, 17 ff. (Oct. 8, 1848.)

continues the note, to discuss the rights and wrongs of the matter; it is better to let Lamartine speak in his own defense. Then follows the extract referred to.

In the same journal, besides several short biographical and other notes,¹⁷ there is an article on *Raphaël*,¹⁸—"un libro bellissimo, . . . escrito con tal raudal de poesía, de pasión y de sentimiento, que os recuerda las bellas páginas de *Romeo y Julieta*, de *Pablo y Virginia*, o de *Lucia di Lammermoor*." A summary of the argument and some long selections follow. Then the narrative suddenly stops short with the words: "O jamás libro alguno ha conmovido los corazones, o *Rafael* debe conmoverlos todos. Lamartine ha sembrado en él, a manos llenas, toda esa poesía admirable del cantor de las *Meditaciones* y de las *Armonías*."

We may read also in this review a life of Lamartine,¹⁹ which, though it gives full weight to the literary importance of the *Méditations* of 1820,—perhaps the first article in Spain to do so—is chiefly occupied with his political writings. There are in addition some selections from the *Confidences*,²⁰ and a translation from the *Voyage en Orient*, headed simply *Jerusalem*.²¹ It is true that the *Confidences*, with *Raphaël*, only appeared in 1849, and that the writers responsible for these articles are, therefore, well abreast of the literary calendar. But the context suggests that the interest in the poems of Lamartine had arisen from that of the prose, rather than the prose from the poems, which one might have expected to have been the case. Any reader of the *Pensamiento* will see that the main interest of these notices, which are so prominent in it, is other than poetical.

It should be added, nevertheless, that Lamartine did eventually find his way, in a somewhat more worthy fashion than heretofore, into Spanish verse and the history of Spanish literature, partly through the work of la Avellaneda, and partly through a number of poets who flourished mainly in the decades 1860 to 1880. But it

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 31, 176 (Jan. 22, May 28, 1849): "Lamartine escribe en el día un poema titulado *Rafael y la Historia de la Revolución de 1848*, libro esperado con vivísima y justa impaciencia."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 33-4.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 41-2, 49, 50.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 57-8.

²¹ *Ibid.*, II, 105-7. The article has no explanation or account of its source.

will be realized on examination that these belated disciples are disciples almost by accident. Narciso Campillo (1838-1900), one of the foremost and first of them, translated Lamartine in the sixties, as he translated Victor Hugo and others, as part of the tribute to Romanticism paid by the Andalusian followers of Rivas and Zorrilla.²² Teodoro Llorente (1836-1911), living at the other extreme of the peninsula, was a translator by predilection, and Lamartine shares the honors of his industry with Goethe, Longfellow, Schiller, Byron, Vigny, Gautier, Musset, and not less than a score of other eminent poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²³ There was, no doubt, something in Llorente's temperament which drew him to Lamartine, as there was, above all, in the temperament of Amos de Escalante (1831-1902),²⁴ in whose verses we have that very inspiration of religion which marks the best of the *Méditations*, and without prompting direct translations (for all are not translators) makes us recognize Lamartine continually. But such a case is intensely individual and demands separate treatment.²⁵

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²² See *Poesías*, Sevilla, 1858, and Cadiz, 1867.

²³ Llorente's chief translations from Lamartine may be consulted in *Poetas franceses del siglo XIX* (Barcelona, Montaner y Simon) and in J. Navarro Reverter's *Teodoro Llorente, su vida y sus obras* (Barcelona, Granada y Cía). They are: *El Lago*, *La ventana de la casa paterna*, *El caracol de mar*.

Cf. the confession of his preference for Victor Hugo and Lamartine, cited by Navarro Reverter, *op. cit.*, p. 36. "Quería asimilarle la poesía del uno y del otro, y con este objeto, por pura fruición propia, sin ulterior propósito, di en traducir sus versos. ¡Qué horas tan deliciosas, y a veces tan intranquilas, huyendo de las gentes, a solas conmigo mismo, pasé ocupado en aquella dificultosa labor! A nadie la daba a entender; temía que la profanasen ojos extraños."

²⁴ See *Poesías de D. Amos de Escalante, edición póstuma precedida de un estudio crítico por D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo* (Madrid, 1907).

²⁵ I have said nothing of Lamartine's influence on Juan Arolas, a subject which my friend Sr. Lomba y Pedraja has studied so completely in his work *El P. Arolas, su vida y sus versos*, Madrid, 1898. Here (pp. 125-135) he not only shows how Arolas both imitated and copied Lamartine, but also discussed at some length the respects in which he resembled, and those in which he fell short of him.

ERRORS IN BEAUCHAMPS' RECHERCHES SUR LES THÉÂTRES DE FRANCE

Despite the fact that Faguet seriously compromised the trustworthiness of his *Tragédie française au XVII^e siècle* by the confidence he placed in the fictions of Mouhy's *Journal du théâtre français*, critics have not ceased to trust eighteenth-century works devoted to the history of the French stage. Even those who are wary of accepting a single date are apt to follow Beauchamps when he gives not only the date found on the title-page of a play, but also the dates of the *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer*. An entry that reads "L'Argenis . . . in-8°. 1636. la veuve Bessin, achevée d'imprimer le 15. juin, priv. du 18. Avril"¹ certainly inspires confidence until one happens to consult the original edition of the play and learns that Beauchamps has set down 1636 for 1631. Then one asks whether such mistakes are common and to what extent this writer may be trusted.

To answer this question I compared the dates given by Beauchamps for 119 plays with those of the original editions and found him in error with regard to 19 plays or about 16 per cent. of the cases. Usually the mistakes are slight. Beauchamps gives the wrong day,² or the wrong month,³ occasionally the wrong year.⁴ When one consults the plays cited, one can see in some cases the source of his error. The *privilege* to print Guérin de Bouscal's *Suite de la Mort de César* was given on July 23, "1637 et de nostre règne le vingt-septième," a contradiction, for, as Louis XIII

¹ *Recherches sur les théâtres de France*, Paris, Prault, 1735, II, 79.

² *Argénis et Poliarque*, *privilege*, Feb. 23 for 25; *Nitocris*, *priv.*, Nov. 20 for 10; *Victime d'Estat*, *priv.*, May 7 for 17; *Généreuse Allemande*, *achevé d'imprimer*, Nov. 18 for 8; *Durval*, *Panthée*, *ach.*, Feb. 22 for 12; *Perséide*, *ach.*, Aug. 13 for Aug. 1; *Inceste supposé*, *ach.*, Dec. 30 for 31; *Thémistocle*, *ach.*, March 10 for 20; *Anaxandre*, *ach.*, March 21 for 26.

³ *Don Quixote*, *priv.*, March for May; *Scévole*, *ach.*, June for January.

⁴ *Suite de la Mort de César*, *priv.*, 1637 for 1636; *Mort de Mithridate*, *ach.*, 1637 for 1636; Puget de la Serre, *Martire de Sainte Catherine*, *priv.* and *ach.*, 1642 for 1643; Desmaretz, *Roxane*, *priv.*, May 13, 1647 for March 14, 1639, *ach.*, April 25, 1647 for the latter part of 1640; *Argénis*, *priv.* and *ach.*, 1636 for 1631; *Lysandre et Caliste*, *priv.* and *ach.*, July 2 and Aug. 5, 1636, for July 20 and Aug. 5, 1632; *Folies de Cardénio*, *priv.*, 1625 for 1629; Monléon, *Thyeste*, 1633 for 1638.

became king in May, 1610, the month of July, 1636, not 1637, fell in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. Moreover this *privilege* was transferred to Quinet on Jan. 16, 1637 and the *achevé d'imprimer* is dated Feb. 20 of the same year. Evidently the misprint lies in the first date, which contradicts the other three. If it is changed to 1636, there is no difficulty. The play is then seen to have preceded the *Cid* and hence to have more importance than if it had first appeared in 1637. Again, after dating Desmaretz's *Roxane* 1640, Beauchamps gives the *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer* as of May 13 and April 25, 1647, confusing this play with the *Mort de Roxane* by "J. M. S.," whose *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer* date from May 13, 1647 and April 25, 1648. As a matter of fact, the *privilege* of Desmaretz's *Roxane* was granted March 14, 1639. The play must have been printed between June 12, 1640, the day when the *privilege* was transferred to another publisher, and the end of the year.

Other mistakes are less obvious. I have referred to Du Ryer's *Argénis*, dated 1636 instead of 1631. Similar errors are found in the case of his *Lysandre et Caliste*, dated 1636 for 1632 and of Pichou's *Folies de Cardénio*, dated Aug. 20, 1625, instead of Aug. 20, 1629. Two leading authorities, Rigal⁵ and Dannheisser,⁶ have accepted the erroneous date for the latter play and thus given it an undue importance in the development of the French drama. Beauchamps is, however, less to blame here than elsewhere. He evidently got the date from an edition of the play printed by Targa at Paris in 1633 which gives Aug. 20, 1625 as the date of the *privilege*. He should have noticed that the document cited is not the *privilege* itself, but only an "extrait" from it. Had he examined the original edition, he would have found only the date Aug. 20, 1629.⁷

The dating of Monléon's *Thyeste* is less excusable. Beauchamps writes "in -4°. 1633. Paris, Guillemot, achevée d'imprimer le 9 août, priv. du 6." Copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Widener Library of Harvard University, and the Library of the Comédie Française give exactly the same days of the same months,

⁵ In Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, IV, 226.

⁶ "Zur Geschichte der Einheiten in Frankreich," *ZFSL*. 1892, p. 66.

⁷ This is shown by a copy at the Bibliothèque Nationale examined for me by Dr. R. C. Williams, and by another in my possession.

but the year 1638.⁸ The mistake is worth noticing, for if the play had been printed in 1633, it would appear to be the first of a group of seventeenth-century plays based on Seneca that includes Corneille's *Médée* and Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*. Moreover the play shows remarkable unity for the period, more than we find in the *Cid*, as much as is shown by Mairet's *Sophonisbe*, so that it might easily be considered to have more right than the latter to the title of the first French classical tragedy, for it is no mere adaptation of Seneca. In half the play the dramatization of the legend differs decidedly from Seneca's and Monléon improves upon his model in the use he makes of the queen and her children. But first published as it was in 1638, after Mairet, Corneille, Scudéry, Du Ryer, La Calprenède, Benserade had produced classical tragedies, it possesses little importance, except as an essay in the horrible and in the use of children on the stage, neither of which characteristics was to find many imitators in the seventeenth century.

Beauchamps's error has been very generally followed. The frères Parfaict (1745) date the play 1633.⁹ The *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*¹⁰ gives the same date, as does Lérès.¹¹ The

⁸ This date is also given by Maupoint, *Bibliothèque des théâtres*, Paris, Prault, 1733, p. 299, who wrote too early to be influenced by Beauchamps. If the question is asked whether there may have been an edition of 1633 as well as of 1638, it may be answered that no copy of the earlier edition has been found, that the edition of 1638 is not called a second edition, that the only evidence for an edition of 1633 is given by authors who are directly or indirectly copying Beauchamps, and that the latter's date must be intended for 1638 unless we are willing to accept the remarkable coincidence that the *privilege* and *achevé* of this supposed edition were dated Aug. 6 and Aug. 9, 1633, while those of the extant edition are Aug. 6. and Aug. 9, 1638.

⁹ They, of course, do not attempt to give the date of printing, but the earliest date on which they think it had been completed by its author.

¹⁰ Dresden, 1768. The authors of this work undoubtedly had an edition of the play in their hands, for their analysis of it enters into considerable detail and reports facts omitted by the frères Parfaict. Their error in the date can be explained by the fact that the plays owned by the duc de La Vallière, which are analyzed in this work, passed largely into the possession of the Arsenal Library and that the copy of the play found there contains no printed date on the title-page, but one written in ink, 1633, in spite of the fact that the *privilege* and *achevé* contained in the volume are dated 1638. Evidently the date in ink was copied from Beauchamps or the frères Parfaict and gave rise to the blunder of the editors of the *Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*.

¹¹ Edition of Paris, 1763, p. 427.

Anecdotes dramatiques (1775) give 1733, adding a typographical error of their own. Mouhy in his *Abrégé de l'histoire du théâtre françois*, II, 236, sets it down as a quarto of 1633, but elsewhere (I, 464) mentions an edition in octavo of that year and a quarto of 1638. He is evidently copying two authorities and trying to reconcile them. In Germany the error has been widely propagated. Lessing¹² writes, "Ausser diesem hat auch ein gewisser Montleon [*sic*] 1633 einen Thyest drucken lassen." H. Lüst, the only person who has printed a careful study of the play, follows his example.¹³ A. L. Stiefel¹⁴ uses the erroneous date and a piece of faulty reasoning to arrive at a probably correct result with regard to the dating of Rotrou's *Hercule mourant*. F. Jakob in a dissertation on the story of Atreus¹⁵ quotes Lérís to justify this date. Finally one of the principal French authorities in this field, the late Professor Rigal, not only accepts the date, 1633, in the article to which I have referred, but on account of it is obliged to explain at some length why he does not consider *Thyeste* the first French classical tragedy.¹⁶

These examples are sufficiently numerous to show how many errors may come from faith in Beauchamps's dates, even when he gives *privilege* and *achevé d'imprimer*. The plays I have examined are, of course, only a few of those cited in his *Recherches*, but the proportion of error would probably hold for the rest of the work. There is no evidence that he deliberately sought to deceive his readers, but either he or his publisher was so careless that he must always be consulted with caution and no chronological theory can be based on dates given in his book, unless they have been found also in the original editions of the plays.

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¹² *Sämtliche Schriften*, edition of K. Lachmann, Stuttgart, 1890, VI, 231. The context shows that Lessing is following Lérís.

¹³ *Montleon in seinem Thyeste als Nachahmer Senecas*, Schweinfurt, 1887, page 6.

¹⁴ "Ueber die Chronologie von J. Rotrou's dramatischen Werken," *ZFSL*, 1894, xvi, 29.

¹⁵ *Die Fabel von Atreus und Thyestes in den wichtigsten Tragödien der englischen, französischen und italienischen Literatur*, Naumburg a. S., 1906, pp. 4 and 25.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 252.

MILTON'S *LYCIDAS* AND THE PLAY OF *BARNAVELT*¹

Critics of Milton seem to be rather generally agreed that, however much the poet may have drawn upon the treasures of thought in the writers of both ancient and modern times, and however close in some instances the resemblances may be between the work of the lender and the borrower, Milton can in no case be charged with downright plagiarism—a word for word transplanting that is unaccompanied by the transforming power of the poet's imagination and individuality. It is generally agreed that Milton transformed into his own whatever he touched, and that almost without exception he transformed it into an infinitely better thing than he found it.

It is, therefore, a most arresting experience to come across a word for word parallel that apparently belies the statement that Milton was never a downright plagiarist. Such a parallel occurs between a passage in *Lycidas* and one in *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt* by Massinger and Fletcher. Lines 70-72 of *Lycidas* run as follows:

Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise
(That last infirmity of noble mind)
To scorn delights and live laborious days.

In *Barnavelt*, Act I, scene 1 occurs the following speech of Barnavelt himself:

Yf I fall
I shall not be alone, for in my ruyns
My Enemies shall find their Sepulchres.
Modes-Bargen, though in place you are my equall,
The fire of honor, which is dead in you,
Burnes hotly in me, and I will preserve
Each glory I have got, with as much care
As I acheivd it. Read but ore the Stories
Of men most fam'd for courage or for counsaile,
And you shall find that the desire of glory
(That last infirmity of noble minds)
Was the last frailty wise men ere put of:
Be they my presidents.¹

¹ Bullen, *Old English Plays*, Vol. II, p. 213.

We have, then, in a context somewhat similar to that in *Barnavelt*, a line which, with the unimportant difference between "mind" and "minds," not only presents a word for word parallel, but even uses the parentheses. This double coincidence is, to say the least, very striking. The same sentiment, it has been noted, Milton expressed much later in *Paradise Regained*, Bk. III, lines 25 ff. Satan asks Christ why He should deprive himself of fame and glory

. . . glory, the reward
That sole excites to high attempts the flame
Of most erected spirits, most tempered pure
Aethereal, who all pleasures else despise,
All treasures and all gain esteem as dross,
And dignities and powers, all but the highest.

The resemblance between the *passages* in *Lycidas* and *Barnevelt* was noticed by Robert Boyle, who in Appendix II of Bullen's *Old English Plays* (Vol. II, p. 437) speaks in comment on the lines

The desire of glory
Was the last frailty wise men ere put off.

as follows: "This occurs again in *A Very Woman*, V, 4, line 10—

Though the desire of fame be the last weakness
Wise men put off.

Though the thought occurs in Tacitus and Simplicius, Milton seems to have adopted it, as he has done many other of his most striking passages from Massinger. It occurs also in at least one other play of Massinger's, but the passage has escaped me for the moment."

It is curious that Boyle should speak of the lines *preceding* and *following* the one in parentheses and not even hint at the much more striking parallel between the two lines thus identically set off. He was evidently not greatly concerned with more than the general resemblance of thought, if he was even aware of more.

We should expect editors and critics of Milton to have noticed the parallel. A careful examination, however, reveals no evidence that any commentator of Milton's *Lycidas* has even noticed the resemblance. It would of course not be noticed by Warton (1785), Todd (1826), Browne (1866), Masson (1874), Bradshaw (1877),

Jerram (1881); or the other editors before Jerram, since *Barnavelt* was never published until 1883, when it appeared in Vol. II of Bullen's *Old English Plays*. Since its publication, however, have appeared, among others, the editions of Verity (1898), Moody (1899), Sampson (1901), and Tuckwell (1911). In citing parallels or slight resemblances to the *Lycidas* line, many of these commentators merely quote from their predecessors. Altogether, from Warton to Tuckwell, we have citations from the following authors and works: Tacitus, Athenaeus, Abbate Grillo, Sir Henry Wotton, Bishop Hall, Feltham's *Resolves*, Jonson's *Cataline*, and Massinger's *A Very Woman*. But all of these furnish slight parallels indeed compared with the line from *Barnavelt*. It is thus evident that the parallel has not been mentioned where it should of all places be found—in the standard editions of *Lycidas*.

What, now, are the conceivable explanations of the parallel? *Lycidas* was written in the autumn of 1637 and published in 1638. *Barnavelt* was produced, according to Fleay, between August 14 and August 27, 1619. Sir John van Olden Barnavelt was executed May 13, 1619. The play was written, therefore, between May and August, 1619. There is no evidence of any subsequent production. The manuscript, a folio of thirty-one leaves, was purchased for the British Museum from the Earl of Denbigh in 1851 and is now entitled Brit. Mus. Add. Ms. 18, 653. Its history previous to the purchase in 1851 is unknown. It was first published by Bullen, as above indicated, in 1883. With these facts in mind, the four conceivable explanations of the parallel may be noted. First, that the parallel is a mere coincidence is not probable. Second, that both lines have a common source is more conceivable but still not very probable. Third, that Massinger copied Milton is not possible unless Massinger revised the play after 1638, and of this revision there is no evidence whatever. Fourth, that Milton copied Massinger is the most plausible explanation of all and, in the present state of our knowledge, the only acceptable one.

But, if we accept this last explanation, how did Milton get hold of the line from *Barnavelt*? In the absence of any known published version in Milton's time, he must either have seen the manuscript or witnessed the stage presentation. Accessibility to the manuscript would naturally, though not necessarily, require an acquaintanceship with one of the authors, and there is not the

slightest evidence, in Masson or anywhere else, that Milton had any relations with either Fletcher or Massinger. It is of course just possible that he may have had access to the manuscript through the medium of other persons. Our ignorance of the early history of the manuscript precludes our supporting or denying the supposition. But it would at least seem very improbable, considering Milton's slight relationship with the class of men who would be likely to have it in custody. The stage presentation he may possibly have known. But this is very improbable, since Milton was only eleven years old when *Barnavelt* was produced in 1619. And even conceding that he was allowed to frequent the theatres at this age, it is not very likely that he would have retained a line or a passage in his memory in this exact form from 1619 to 1637. The accessible commonplace books of his do not contain the line. And since we have no record of any subsequent production of the play, we must infer that he never saw it produced.

Finally, there is not the slightest allusion in Milton's poetry or prose to Barnavelt himself. The only allusion in his poetry to the political situation on the Continent that might be of significance occurs in the third Elegy, lines 10-11:

Et memini Heroum quos vidit ad aethera raptos,
Flevit et amissos Belgia tota duces.

But even this is of doubtful import. In short, as to Milton's knowledge of this particular play we have absolutely no evidence, and the parallel between *Lycidas* and *Barnavelt*, striking as it is, seems unexplainable in the light of the knowledge we now possess.²

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² The larger question, which this parallel of course suggests, of Milton's connections with the dramatic literature of England demands much more investigation than it has hitherto received. An investigation of the writer's, undertaken in connection with the study here reported and including a very careful examination of Milton's prose and poetry for allusions to the English drama, has led him to conclude that Milton's connections with the dramatic literature of England were very slight, and that his relations to the theatre itself seem practically negligible.

A COMMENT ON MILTON'S *HISTORY OF BRITAIN*

Milton's theory of the distinction between liberty and license is conspicuous in his philosophy; it recurs again and again in his writings, for the marked Hebraic element in his nature lent itself freely to the utterance of maxim and jeremiad, of prophecy and lamentation. His abiding interest, too, in the doctrine that liberty must be guarded by temperance and virtue is, in a real sense, an aspect of his solicitude for human welfare. To become a sluggard in an hour of ease, or a voluptuary in an hour of affluence, or a tyrant in an hour of authority—these, he is convinced, are perils that never fail to beset the race of man. With the Puritan's consciousness that they are imminent in the career of an individual, he combines the scholar-poet's knowledge that all nations and ages are exposed to them. With the "great Task-Master's eye" looking upon him throughout the centuries, how is frail man withstanding the test?

In one form or another, this query always commanded a place in Milton's thought; not often, however, did it find better opportunity to present itself than in his *History of Britain*. In the three poems of his final years it is clearly manifest, and evident, though less plainly, in the early poetry. The prose writings reflect it in a measure, but no other so well as the *History*. For the productions of Milton's so-called second period, and the prose compositions of the third, were mainly polemic—tracts and treatises written to support personal or factional causes, and to disarm threatened or pending attacks. Virtually every one of them had its peculiar object, and a specific occasion. One need mention only *The Reason of Church Government* and the Smectymnuan documents in order to imagine himself in an atmosphere of special controversies and narrow issues. Even *Of Education* was the outgrowth of a current movement. In most of these writings, Milton had definite thrusts to deliver, or concrete assaults to resist. There was little scope for moral theses of broad and profound application. In the *History*, however, in which more than a thousand years of authentic records were spread before him, in which whole tribes and nations played the alternating roles of conqueror and conquered, and in which the triumph of virtue and the undoing of vice might be witnessed on a universal scale—in

such a work he could illustrate his precept without restraint. The closing paragraph,¹ with its admonition to contemporary Englishmen, goes far toward revealing the spirit in which he wrote. In the hands of a man of that contemplative, sober temper, the national annals could scarcely inspire an epic of legendary jousts and tourneys, or a glorification of towering and picturesque heroes, but prompted instead a stern warning, in unpretentious narrative, that the race protect its Heaven-sent freedom against the snares of earthly temptation.

The *History of Britain* therefore holds a unique place in the development of Milton's thought and character. To contend that the moral premises of *Paradise Lost* arose spontaneously out of it would be futile and absurd, for it is known that the project of an epic based on Adam's sin was engaging his mind as early as 1640, some five years before the composition of the *History* was actually begun. But his intense examination of the varied story of a people's fortunes, prosecuted as it was through the very period in which ideas for the master-work were germinating and flowering, must have been a powerful influence. Had Milton never undertaken a history of England, he would still have written his last three poems; yet the lesser interest surely had its effect on the eventual preservation of the greater. From the spectacle of a nation's combat with sin it was only a step to the panorama comprising humanity and the Cosmos. When, after 1655, he was somewhat free to focus his thought on the composition of *Paradise Lost*, he had finished nearly four books of the historical work. He had already meditated upon the self-imposed fate of the Britons: he was about to compare it with the similar doom of their Teutonic successors. During the following half-decade, the writing of the two works made joint claim upon his time. For over fifteen years, moreover, through violent interruptions and absorbing activities, through failing vision and total blindness, he bore them in his mind side by side. Seed-thoughts and suggestions for the one must have had their share in shaping and coloring the other.

¹The passage follows: "If these were the causes of such misery and thralldom to those our ancestors, with what better close can be concluded, than here in fit season to remember this age in the midst of her security, to fear from like vices without amendment, the revolution of like calamities?" This passage was doubtless written shortly after the Restoration.

It is presumptuous, of course, to contend that the author of the *History* is at all points the man who sang the strains of *Paradise Lost*. The irritable, combative, and excessively subjective nature gave way, in the presence of a divine theme, to the tranquil seer. Yet in both there is the same search after moral truth, the same endeavor to know the spiritual worth of human character, and its final hope in the conflict with temptation; and there is the same high purpose to

justify the ways of God to men.

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KEATS'S ODE TO THE NIGHTINGALE

The revival of interest in Keats with the centennial of his death has brought out much interesting new material, but nothing of more value than that on the *Ode to the Nightingale*. Sir Sidney Colvin's publication of a facsimile of the manuscript of the poem, the property of the Marquis of Crewe, has furnished an invaluable addition to the materials for the study of this poem, acknowledged to be one of the poet's greatest.

The facsimile shows that Brown's "four or five" scraps of paper upon which he said the poem was written are in reality only two scraps, but with four pages, and also disposes of any lingering doubt about the proper arrangement of the stanzas. This enables us now to speak more confidently about both the thought and imagery of the poem, and to see it as a consistent whole, which up to the present has been somewhat uncertain.

In the matter of the imagery of the poem, it needs to be noticed that there are two and only two distinct images, though this has not been noticed by students of Keats generally. The first and last stanzas, though clearly introductory and concluding in their thought, do not constitute separate images.

The first image of the poem is that of the actual conditions under which Keats composed the poem, transferred directly and only made more vivid by his creative imagination. The poet, as

Brown relates, "one morning took his chair from the breakfast table to the grass plot under a plum-tree, where he sat for two or three hours," listening to the nightingale that had made her nest near the house. Here Keats listened and wrote, and at the end of the two or three hours had completed the poem. As Sir Sidney Colvin suggests, this rather than Hayden's is probably the true account of the composition of the poem.

The imagery, then, is of the summer morning hours, probably mid-May (l. 48), and the poet addresses the nightingale under this form. Hancock has totally misconceived the poem, for he states explicitly as a summary of the first stanza that "It is night,"¹ and presumably thinks the same image continues in the succeeding stanzas.

Nor has the thought of these stanzas been clearly understood. Hancock says, summarizing the thought of the first stanza: "The song of the nightingale has stirred the poet to a mood of rapture almost intoxicating. He is, for the moment, happy beyond man's common privilege." On the contrary, the mood throughout this and the following stanzas is that of the aching heart and drowsy numbness that pains his sense. He does not participate in the happiness of the nightingale, nor does he envy it, but is pained at the contrast between its happiness and his own unhappiness.

Then, instead of desiring a continuance of this rapture, as Hancock thinks, in the second stanza the poet desires wine that he may rid himself of his unhappiness and become happy like the bird. Wine, he thinks, would enable him to "fade away" with the nightingale "into the forest dim" where he could forget his unhappiness, or, as he puts it, "The weariness, the fever, and the fret" that are the lot of those who live where palsy and death wait upon men.

The third stanza, then, does not "admonish the nightingale to escape wholly from this melancholy world," as Hancock wrongly says, but repeats the poet's desire, expressed in the last lines of the second, to "fade far away" with the bird where he can forget his own sorrows in its happiness.

With the opening of the fourth stanza the second image of the poem is employed. The wish to partake of wine to carry him away

¹ *John Keats, A Literary Biography*, 1908.

was only a passing fancy, and now gives place to his real thought, which is to "fade away," as he says, "on the viewless wings of Poesy." Now he will betake himself to imagination to get away from his sorrows, and in a moment (l. 35) he is in the world of his fancy.

With this the imagery changes, as has not been sufficiently clear to most writers, and he passes from the imagery of summer morning to that of "night" (l. 35), though it is still "mid-May." The poet has made his transition abundantly clear in the poem, to those who will take notice. In line 36 he speaks of "the Queen-Moon"; in 37 of the "starry Fays"; in 38 he says there is "no light"; in 41 he mentions that he "cannot see the flowers"; and in 43 he speaks of the "darkness." In the first line of stanza VI (l. 51) he says: "Darkling I listen"; in 56 he speaks of "midnight"; in 63 he refers to "this passing night."

The poet has thus repeated and reiterated all in vain that this second image is of the darkness and the night, and indeed of the midnight, though under the shining moon. He chooses the image of the night, no doubt, and reiterates it, for, though the nightingale sings in the mornings as he himself heard it, it is the night that has always seemed appropriate to the bird, and that must be conceived as its special world.

The last word of the seventh stanza, "forlorn," lingers in his mind and he repeats it as the first word of the eighth or last stanza. This brings him back to himself, and dispels the dark night of his fancy wherein he dwelt with the nightingale in "the forest dim," and where during the continuance of his imagination he was free from "the weariness, the fever, and the fret" of life. Then he wonders whether it has not all been "a vision, or a waking dream," and whether "Do I wake or sleep?"

Some of the more careful recent writers have not overlooked entirely the change from the "day" of the first to the "night" of the second image, but have not observed in this any special significance. Sir Henry Newbolt mentions the "embalmed darkness," but makes nothing of the fact (*A New Study of Poetry*, 1917). Sir Sidney Colvin, in his new life of Keats (1917) likewise mentions, but only casually, "the darkness," as of no special consequence. Most other writers, including Hancock, ignore en-

tirely the oft-repeated "night," and all alike miss thereby much of the deeper meaning of the poem.

In the first division of the poem (stanzas i-iii) the poet, after first stating the fact of his sorrow, expresses the strong desire to be transported beyond it all, as he poetically puts it, by "a draught of vintage." The sorrow of his brother's death had clouded his life and driven out all happiness. The happiness of the nightingale put his own unhappiness in stronger light, and made it appear greater by contrast. From it all he desires to get relief by fading away to the happy world of the nightingale.

Keats at this time was in great sorrow over the death of his brother Tom, who had died on December the first, only a few weeks before. He had seen Tom suffer, and had nursed him through the horrors of a consumptive's lingering sickness and death, "Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies," and had had some intimations that he himself was following fast in the same way. This in itself would be sufficient to justify his sorrows, and put himself in deep contrast to the exultant happiness of the nightingale.

In addition to this, however, Keats had a deeper and more spiritual cause of unhappiness. No doubt Tom's death had contributed to bring it about, but Keats was now in the mood Wordsworth speaks of in *Tintern Abbey* as "the burden of the mystery," and as "the heavy and the weary weight of all this unintelligible world." Keats was now passing from the stage of the youthful poet and lover of beauty to the philosophic age in which he was no longer content merely to enjoy and glory in the fulness of life and the unimpaired beauty of the world as seen through his poetic imagination. His development had been exceedingly rapid, and he had passed almost unobserved even by his friends from the poet to the philosopher, but not without knowing it well himself.

A recent very illuminating paper calls attention to the fact that in the spring of 1819, when this and other poems were composed, Keats was passing through a sharp crisis in the life of the spirit.² He had, no doubt, been greatly influenced by Wordsworth and Coleridge, both of whom were philosophical poets, who had under-

²"The Real Tragedy of Keats," by G. R. Elliott. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, September, 1921.

gone similar crises in their poetic and spiritual development. As a consequence of this crisis Keats was no longer satisfied with the brilliant but æsthetic achievements of his poetry to date. Keats knew himself to be turning philosopher, and welcomed the change, but the change came about only with great heaviness of spirit. He willingly gave up the poetic innocence of his youth for the more profound mystery of life that came with the philosophic mind, but, like the Ancient Mariner's Wedding-Guest, he became not only a wiser but a sadder man.

As much as a year before this (April, 1818), he gave evidence of a spiritual struggle over the question of poetry and philosophy, and concluded, as he says in a letter to Taylor (24 April, 1818) to "turn all my soul to the latter," that is, to philosophy. The crisis was reached at the time of the composition of *Lamia*, a few months after the *Ode to the Nightingale*, in the summer of 1819, and then he settled once for all his attitude to philosophy. He concluded that though philosophy did rob the earth of some of its poetic charm and beauty, nevertheless, truth was better and was to be sought at all hazard.

The second image of the *Ode*, that of the nightingale in its forest darkness, may now be seen to have a deep significance. Its most obvious meaning is that Keats loved the quiet and the stillness, and even the darkness of the night more than the gaudy day. Keats was essentially a poet of repose and quiet. In *Endymion* he says, sympathetically:

But the crown
Of all my life was utmost quietude. (Book III.)

No poet has ever been more a worshipper of the Queen-Moon and the Night than the author of *Endymion*. He loved it not merely as a physical experience, but it was also symbolic of the hunger of his spirit for quietness and calm. Though city-born, London delighted him no more than it did Wordsworth, and Hampstead was a quiet relief to his tired spirit. He delighted in such imagery as that in his own *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, for there he could see the "bride of quietness," and could enjoy the "unheard melodies," which are sweeter. It is surprising the number of references in his poems and letters to the delights of quietness. His spirit seemed to long for quietness and silence.

The deeper thought, however, is that Keats had begun to feel that his life and work were rapidly closing, and leaving an unfulfilled ideal of poetic work. But he was becoming reconciled to this, and said he was "half in love with easeful Death." Under these conditions he almost wishes to die. In the sonnet on *Why did I laugh to-night* he spoke of midnight as a fitting time to die, and said: "Yet would I on this very midnight cease." It is under similar conditions in the *Ode* that he thinks he could give up his "quiet breath," for

Now more than ever seems it rich to die,
To cease upon the midnight with no pain.

He thinks the quiet of the midnight hour the most fitting time to die, when the nightingale is pouring forth its soul "In such an ecstasy." Never was a fond wish more completely denied suffering humanity, for Keats breathed his last in the arms of Severn almost at high noon.

Passing on, the poet contrasts the immortality of the nightingale's song, the same song having been heard by Ruth, with the transitoriness of human life and of his own song. By implication he desires personal immortality, as he had said directly in his letters. And he had earnestly hoped and labored to attain poetic immortality. But this bright hope, like the voice of the nightingale, passes away, and the world comes back upon him with "the weariness, the fever, and the fret," as before.

Keats, then, in this poem has revealed himself, and has shown not only his changing attitude of mind, but has given us a brief though all-important chapter in the history of his spirit, and at the same time a glimpse into his view of human life and of death.

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REVIEWS

Immermann. Der Mann und sein Werk im Rahmen der Zeit- und Literaturgeschichte. Von HARRY MAYNC. München, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921. 627 pp.

Die Heidelberger Romantik. Von HERBERT LEVIN. München, Verlag Pareus & Co., 1922. 153 pp.

Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im Spiegel der nationalen Entwicklung von 1813-1918. Von WILHELM KOSCH. München, Verlag Pareus & Co., 1922. 44 pp.

Wieland's Attitude toward Woman and her Cultural and Social Relations. By MATTHEW G. BACH. New York, The Columbia University Press, 1922. 100 pp.

We have to do here with the most inclusive and ramifying biography that has ever been written of a German poet, the most detailed invoice thus far drawn up of the facts connected with what is conveniently known as Heidelberg romanticism as distinguished from that of Jena and Berlin, the beginnings¹ of the most patriotic history of German literature within the period to be covered, and a quite typical and certainly not contemptible American dissertation. If the last work seems out of place in this composite review, I hasten to add that I am interested here, not merely in the ideas the authors elaborate and the ingenuity they display in framing their investigations, but also, and rather, in these four works as so many distinct types of scholarship in German. But should even this appeal to anyone as an inadequate reason for the inclusion of a treatise on Wieland, it may be said in further defence that he too was a romanticist—just as Wolfram von Eschenbach was, or Rainer Maria Rilke and Gerhart Hauptmann may be. If, moreover, there was one German writer during the first half of the last century more than another who was sympathetically familiar with such works of Wieland as *Agathon* and *Don Sylvio von Rosalva* it was Karl Immermann.

¹ This is merely the first *Lieferung* of Kosch's projected work. There are to be three volumes in all. The first is to treat German literature from 1813 to 1848, and will be divided into fifty sections of which this *Lieferung* contains the first two: "Arndt und Schenkendorf" and "Die alte deutsche Burschenschaft."

Mayne's great life of Immermann opens afresh the Immermann problem. As a writer of fiction he is dead with the exception of *Der Oberhof*, a work he never wrote, in actuality, and which, in the opinion of many students, should never have been amputated from *Münchhausen* and published separately. As a critic, a writer of travel sketches and history he never quite reached a high degree of perfection. But a great mass² of material has been written on him, particularly in comparison with the meagre studies we have of German poets of superior distinction, or at least of greater innate gifts.

The Hempel edition of Immermann, edited by Boxberger, contains 88 pages of biographical matter apart from detailed introductions to each of his separate works. Max Koch did Immermann full justice in the four-volume edition in the *Deutsche National-Literatur* series. Franz Muncker adopted the same scheme in the Cotta edition of six volumes. Werner Deetjen edited him in three large volumes, *Deutsches Verlagshaus Bong*, and Mayne himself said, one would have thought, the last word in his edition of five volumes, *Bibliographisches Institut*. Of the monographs that have been written on Immermann there is no end, for more are still to come.³ And a possible piece of work would be a study in the development of editing *Der Oberhof*.⁴

² A complete list of the studies on Immermann can be had from Mayne's biography, pp. 595-597; *Karl Lebrecht Immermann* by the present writer, pp. 142-147, and an article in *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1. The *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* of March-April, 1922, contains an article by Joseph Risse, entitled "Immermann und die neuere Forschung" which brings the subject up to date.

³ Of the works that are promised on Immermann, Harry Mayne is at present engaged on a complete commentary to *Münchhausen*. It will be recalled that Ferdinand Freiligrath was asked to write this nearly three-quarters of a century ago, when the allusions were still fresh, but declined on the ground of inability. The late Richard M. Meyer also had in mind the compiling, or composing, of such a work. The Immermann Mss. now in the Stadtbibliothek at Dortmund are to be edited by Joseph Risse, who even speaks, in Goethean language, of the joy he is experiencing as a result of having unearthed the *Ur-Alexis*.

⁴ Two new editions of *Der Oberhof* have just appeared: (a) *Der Oberhof. Erzählung. Mit einer Einführung von Prof. Dr. Viktor Kubelka*. Reichenberg, Gebr. Stiepel, 1921. 383 pp. (b) *Der Oberhof. Die Geschichte eines westfälischen Hofes. Eingeleitet und herausgegeben von Fritz Budde*. Dortmund, Gebr. Lensing, 1922. 242 pp.

It is a queer case from the American⁵ point of view, for, to repeat, Immermann is dead. In 1918, Friedrich Kayssler revived his *Merlin* on the *Volksbühne* in Berlin. He expended much energy and displayed sound artistic taste, but he did not prove that *Merlin* is a work that has been accorded step-motherly treatment by the German *Intendanten*. Last year, Albert Ziegler's *Die schelmische Gräfin*, a musical comedy, was played at the Statdttheater in Heidelberg.⁶ These are the outstanding attempts made within recent years to breathe the breath of life into Immermann's creations. They failed.

Yet Maync wrote this book and found a publisher for it. Its unique and great value lies in what is connoted by the latter part of the title: *im Rahmen der Zeit- und Literaturgeschichte*. Everything Immermann did is shown in its relation to similar efforts on the part of other writers. There are 28 detailed references to Gottfried Keller. Why? Because Immermann was influenced by Keller? This is chronologically impossible. Because Keller was influenced by Immermann? It sounds absurd. But Maync has conjured up much evidence. There is, for example, the case of *Tulifantchen* and *Der Apotheker von Chamounix*.

Maync throws, however, no light on Immermann's relation to the law. That Immermann did an almost inexplicable amount of work in the field of art and letters is generally known. How assiduously did he attend to his law practice? If he really worked hard at it, he was in turn a prodigy, a model and a marvel. I have my serious doubts on the subject. I have long had the same doubts with regard to E. T. A. Hoffmann. Two monographs I should like to see written are "Judge Immermann" and "Judge Hoffmann."

The long analyses of Immermann's works are not to be commended: they are unenlightening. You do not derive a clear picture of an Immermann epic or drama by reading the "contents" of it canto by canto or act by act. This blight on the book

⁵We would regard the life of Immermann by Gustav zu Putlitz, 2 volumes, 1870, as adequate.

⁶Cf. *Basler Nachrichten* in successive numbers during the month of April, 1921. The libretto was written by Paula Wolf-Stöhr. Immermann wrote *Die schelmische Gräfin* in 1825. He did not include it in his *Schriften*, Düsseldorf, 1835-1843.

is a legacy from Düntzer and Bulthaupt. No one can estimate the harm they did by their *Inhaltsangaben*. There are but few men who can give the "story" of a work in a really helpful way. The late Calvin Thomas was one of them.

This is a type of scholarship such as we cannot produce in this country; for we could never persuade an American scholar to spend twenty years of unrelieved labor on the life of a single individual, as Mayne did here. But such a study would be extremely illuminating if Longfellow or Whitman or Poe or even Clyde Fitch were its theme.

Levin's *Heidelberger Romantik*⁷ passes over in significant silence the works of Haym, Huch, Houben, Heine, Walzel, Brandes and the other general treatises; but it contains photographs and other illustrations in the way of reproductions of old etchings and city plans. It proceeds on the basis of Eichendorff's noted *mot*, *Heidelberg ist selbst eine prächtige Romantik*; but it aims to tell the precise day, and in some instances even the hour, on which those who made up the Heidelberg group arrived in the city on the Neckar. After considerable research, Levin has found, for example, that Heinrich Graf von Loeben came to Heidelberg on May 19, 1807 (p. 80). The Eichendorff brothers returned to Heidelberg, after their epoch-making visit to Paris, on May 4, 1808 (p. 83). The dates on which magazines were founded, courses on literature and philosophy were begun at the University, and new books were published are given with equal precision. The opening chapter, entitled *Voraussetzungen und Anfänge*, is devoted to the faculty of the University at the beginning of the century, the subjects on which they lectured, the number of students they had and similar details such as can always be assembled if the sources are accessible and the requisite diligence is not wanting. The photographs show the houses in which the outstanding figures of the time, Voss, Arnim, Brentano and others lived while there. There is a particularly good reproduction of the building in which

⁷ As a study in contrasts, Josef Nadler's *Die Berliner Romantik: 1800-1814. Ein Beitrag zur gemcinvölkischen Frage: Renaissance, Romantik, Restauration* (Berlin: Erich Reiss, 235 pp.) cannot be passed over. Nadler's preface, entitled *Vorschuss an meine Scherbenrichter*, shows him to have been in an ugly humor when he wrote the book. We become cautious, too, when he accuses (p. 75) Rudolf Haym of *banale Plattheiten*. But he has rendered a distinct service to the study of romanticism.

Des Knaben Wunderhorn was conceived and partly carried out. And the elaborate city plan at the close of the volume locates all of the spiritual centers with the faithfulness of an up-to-date Baedeker. The last legend attached to the plan reads: *Das Boisseréehaus in der Hauptstrasse ist links gerade abgeschnitten*. The words were manifestly written with emotional regret.

There is a tendency, not merely in this country but also in Germany, to take an indifferent if not directly hostile attitude toward investigations of this type. The attitude is ill founded. Levin has made it easy to study and appreciate five important episodes or institutions in the history of German literature: the united efforts of the Boisserées to revive Old German art; the genesis and completion of the *Wunderhorn*; the Grimm *Märchen*; the *Deutsche Sagen*; and the ever memorable Voss feud. A work of more scrupulous research has never come to my notice. And it contains only twice (pages 72 and 98) that philological "exit" so common to studies of this kind: *man geht wohl nicht fern, wenn man annimmt*. If Levin were now to turn his all-seeing eye on Berlin romanticism, and Nadler were to apply his principles to Heidelberg romanticism, there would be but little more to write: it would be time to read.

As to the type of scholarship Levin has indulged in, from our point of view, it is important to note that the publication of his study was made possible by the *Corps-Suevia* at Heidelberg. Of the twenty odd *Corps* at Heidelberg, *Suevia*⁸ is the oldest: it was founded on March 27, 1810, and consisted at first of 34 members. We think of these German *Corps* only in the terms of *Mensur* and *Schmisse*, *Rausch*, *Junkertum* and so on. But when will one of the fraternities in some one of the New England colleges stand morally and financially responsible for the publication of some such treatise as "The Brook Farm Experiment; or Transcendentalism in Action"?

Students of German in this country are familiar with Wilhelm Kosch as editor of the works of Eichendorff.⁹ That Kosch dis-

⁸Cf. "Das Corpsleben in Heidelberg während des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts." This *Festschrift* was published at Heidelberg in 1886, apropos of the five hundredth anniversary of the University.

⁹Vols. 3, 10, 11, 12 and 13 had appeared at the outbreak of the war. Excellent, even a bit elegant in make-up, and edited in collaboration with

played the temperament of the scholar; this one reveals the state of mind into which a scholar is apt to fall subsequent to the fall of his country. Kosch states in this history of German literature (p. 26) quite unequivocally that Germany could never have risen after the Napoleonic wars had it not been for the romanticists. Now he feels that the teachings of the romanticists have a special message; that the re-reading of them with a mind single to their theories of nationalism will again enable Germany to rise and go forth among the nations of the world.

Regarding histories of German literature in general, I subscribe with reservations to the statement made by Jakob Wassermann in his quasi-autobiography, *Mein Weg als Deutscher und Jude*. Wassermann contends¹⁰ that the incessant outpouring of histories of German literature is "a German disgrace and one that has made Germany look ridiculous in the eyes of cultured nations." It is an unhealthy state of affairs. It resembles, somewhat, the fever for editing texts that raged in the United States previous to the war but which, happily and fortunately, has been stopped by the war. We wince at times at the college president who insists on a Ph. D. to teach his German; there was formerly equal ground to feel queer about the authority who would recommend for promotion a member of the German department on the ground that he had edited a text—*Wilhelm Tell* or *Immensee*—and thereby signed his name to the work of an undisputed genius, but somewhat as a naughty schoolboy might chalk his to the base of a monument of a national hero by a reputed sculptor.

This charge, substantiated or imagined, cannot be preferred against Kosch; he is treating German literature from a relatively novel and certainly exclusive angle, that of patriotism. In his preface, written in the *Polterton* of Ernst Moritz Arndt at his fiercest, he speaks of the *verblendete Tore* who believed that they

a number of redoubtable German scholars, such as August Sauer, the edition bade fair to become one of the best. Whether the remaining volumes have appeared, I confess that I do not know. The first five were published by J. Habel at Regensburg.

¹⁰ Wassermann writes: "Die Massenheerschau und Massenabschlachtung eines Grossteils dieser wissenschaftlich tuenden Literaturgeschichten mit ihrer leichtsinnigen Schablonisierung und dem auf Unwissende und Unmündige berechneten Oberlehrererton ist geradezu eine deutsche Schande, in den Augen gebildeter Nationen eine Lächerlichkeit."

could dispense with the ideals of the romanticists at their most patriotic, *und so schloss der Taumel mit einem grausen Erwachen*. He refers to 1914. He has glorified Arndt as he has rarely been glorified before. And it is amazing what an anthology of flag-waving, even sabre-rattling observations can be culled from Arndt's works. The same applies, in a sense, to Schenkendorf. He has made conspicuous use of that adjective of which Adolf Bartels is so fond, *völkisch*, and equally frequent use of that really admirable noun brought into prominence during the late war, *Ertüchtigung*. And when through with Arndt and Schenkendorf, he concludes that *Deutsch ist gerecht*.

Then he goes over to the *Burschenschaften*, a theme on which much indeed has been written.¹¹ He discusses the introduction of the *Abiturientenexamen* (1788) and its effect on the standing of the students, traces the development of the term *Burschenschaft* from the middle of the eighteenth century, shows its relation to the *Corps*, gives the history of the *Burschenschaften* in the various universities, and even claims (p. 30), that Immermann's quarrel with them gave the nation after all *ein bedeutender Schriftsteller*. That is a distinctly ingenious explanation of such greatness as Immermann may have displayed, but Kosch is endeavoring to show the power of patriotism in poetry. Well, some rather prominent German poets have been *Burschenschaftler*: Hauff in Tübingen, Hoffmann von Fallersleben in Bonn, Holtei and Graf Strachwitz in Breslau, Lenau and Scheffel in Heidelberg, Dreves and Reuter in Jena. Omitted from this list are to be sure many great poets, but when Kosch attempts to prove that the Frankfurt Parliament of 1848 and the German Empire of 1871 are the fruits of the *Burschenschaften*, he is obliged to single out such poets as participated in them, including a Dreves and a Holtei. But can a scholar write with objective detachment when interested exclusively in patriotism? A book however entitled "A National Interpretation of American Literature" would have exceeding great value: it might make Americanization at once easier and more intelligent.

The German department at Columbia has been inclined recently

¹¹ Cf. *Hundert Jahre deutscher Burschenschaft, burschenschaftliche Lebensläufe*. Herausgegeben von Hermann Haupt und Paul Wentzke. Heidelberg, 1921.

to use quite elaborate themes for its dissertations. Last year Lambert A. Shears published *The Influence of Walter Scott on the Novels of Theodor Fontane*. It is a gigantic theme. Fontane wrote much, Scott more. To read both of them for the purpose of preparatory orientation—and I am quite unable to see how a writer can be used as the basis of a doctoral dissertation unless every available word he wrote has been read—would certainly require two years.¹² Matthew G. Bach now writes on Wieland, a voluminous, scribacious individual whose works, even in that frayed old edition of Gruber (Götschen, 1826) make up more than a five-foot shelf of books.

Dr. Bach is categorical: he contends that Wieland, apart from his affair with Christiane Hagel, in which, we are told, he was not wholly to blame, lived a life beyond reproach; that he did much to elevate the position of woman in Germany; that he had but slight regard for a man who did not have a high regard for woman; and that he is morally in a class about with Tennyson. This latter thesis Dr. Bach does not explicitly posit. But he does more: he quotes Tennyson by way of comparison. His entire argument is built up on the assumption that if Wieland introduced salacious material or shady women characters into his works, it was to demonstrate the danger and horror of such, and not to commend the one as a befitting theme on which to meditate, or to uphold the other as a laudable type with which to associate.

This is ingenious; and it is charitable. But it placed Matthew G. Bach as a doctor *in spe* under tremendous obligations. It makes assumptions impossible, and partial investigations nefarious. Dr. Bach cannot afford to write as though he were championing the

¹² Dr. Shears's dissertation bears externally much similarity to Dr. Bach's in that the text is not voluminous, however elaborate the bibliography may be. But I am in no way contending that it is not a valuable piece of work: it recapitulates well, and goes slightly beyond the recapitulatory stage in that it offers reasonable proof that Fontane was influenced by Scott in ways that have heretofore not been shown. I feel, however, that some of his argument is halting. Regarding the fire in *Grete Minde* for example, Dr. Shears finds a similarity between this and the fire in *Ivanhoe*. But Jakob Wassermann has a scene quite similar to both in his "Das Gänsemännchen." Are we to assume that Wassermann read both Scott and Fontane? Are not fires rather common everywhere, and is there not always someone on hand to act in an imbecile way?

affirmative of a debate on the question: *Resolved, that C. M. Wieland was demure as a man, and of Victorian delicacy and chastity as a poet.* Or, if he writes in this mood, he should consider every word Wieland wrote. For Wieland betrayed his attitude toward women and morals in general even in his translation of Shakespeare, and certainly as much in such works as *Idris und Zenide*,¹³ and *Ueber die Behauptung, dasz ungehemmte Ausbildung der menschlichen Gattung nachtheilig sey*¹⁴ as in some of the works Dr. Bach selects for special examination.

But this remains a good piece of scholarship as conceived, and rightly practiced, in this country: it is largely our business to study, edit and lecture on what the Germans create. Dr. Bach writes 90 small pages (Columbia dissertations were 200 large pages in length before the war) rather heavily documented with quotations, and then appends a "selected" bibliography of 60 works on the same subject. This is typical. During the last hundred years of German teaching in the United States, the instances in which American scholarship in German has advanced beyond the recapitulatory stage have been not negligible but few. And to recapitulate in such a way that a Wieland, said by some German scholars "to have totally seduced and poisoned the German people," seems overdue for canonization is assuredly not a disservice—provided the point has been made; provided Dr. Bach has examined all the evidence.¹⁵ I should like to think that he has.

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¹³ Vol. VII of the Mauermann edition: Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1911, pp. 18-156.

¹⁴ The same, pp. 417-438.

¹⁵ Dr. Bach has very kindly placed at my disposal a letter he received from Franz Muncker of Munich regarding his dissertation. Professor Muncker, after praising Dr. Bach's work in high tones, writes: "Es wird Sie wohl interessieren zu hören, dass in der sächsischen Landbibliothek zu Dresden ein dicker Band von Wielands Briefwechsel mit verschiedenen Damen (handschriftlich) liegt, der für Sie natürlich manchen Aufschluss geboten hätte." Precisely: this inaccessible material might be invaluable. Who knows? Dr. Bach should have known.

The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700. By GEOFFROY ATKINSON, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1920. xiii + 185 pp.—*The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720.* By GEOFFROY ATKINSON, Ph. D. Paris: Champion, 1922. 147 pp.

De la masse considérable de récits de voyages plus ou moins authentiques, de voyages purement imaginaires et fantastiques, de romans utopiques à tendances philosophiques ou déjà socialistes qui ont paru au dix-septième siècle, M. Atkinson a détaché et choisi pour sujet de son étude un groupe d'ouvrages auxquels il applique le terme de "voyages extraordinaires." Bien que M. Atkinson ait emprunté cette appellation à M. Lanson, il est bon de remarquer qu'il prend le mot voyage au sens strictement anglais de voyage par mer et qu'il exclut "les relations de voyages dans les autres planètes, les voyages faits en rêve, par des moyens magiques, des charmes ou des procédés surnaturels" (p. ix). Les voyages extraordinaires seront donc des voyages faits par mer, dans des pays qui existent, mais sont mal connus; ils contiennent une description de l'heureuse société que l'on y trouve et une relation du retour des voyageurs en Europe. Il y a quelque danger à prendre ainsi dans une acception purement anglaise un terme qui existe en français avec un sens beaucoup plus compréhensif, surtout quand il s'agit d'étudier un groupe d'ouvrages purement français. Si M. Atkinson poursuit son étude à travers le dix-huitième siècle, comme nous avons lieu de l'espérer, il se trouvera plus d'une fois embarrassé et sera forcé d'exclure des œuvres importantes qui ne répondent que de très loin à sa définition. Ces réserves faites, on peut à la rigueur classer sous le titre de voyages extraordinaires une combinaison du roman d'aventures et du roman utopique opérée vers la fin du dix-septième siècle sous l'influence des relations authentiques de voyages.

Le groupe ainsi délimité par M. Atkinson comprend trois "voyages extraordinaires" principaux: *La Terre australe connue* de Gabriel de Foigny, 1676; *L'Histoire des Sevarambes* de Denis de Vairasse d'Alais, 1677-79; les *Aventures de Télémaque* de Fénelon, 1699, qui tous trois présentent des descriptions d'une société idéale, encadrées de récits d'aventures qui nous sont données comme authentiques.

Avant de les analyser en détail, M. Atkinson a consacré trois chapitres sommaires, mais très nourris et consciencieusement documentés, aux origines des voyages extraordinaires. Il a indiqué comment dès le début du dix-septième siècle, un souci plus grand de l'observation réaliste et détaillée se manifeste dans les récits de voyages et dans les œuvres qui en dérivent. Avec beaucoup de justesse, il a signalé l'importance des gravures dans les *Voyages* de De Bry; il a montré comment, de très bonne heure, était apparue, sous l'influence de relations authentiques, la notion d'un "troisième monde autrement appelé Terre Australe" qui devait devenir cher aux faiseurs d'utopies; il a enfin fait voir, et je me range à son opinion, comment dès le milieu du dix-septième siècle, les *Voyages fameux de Vincent Le Blanc*, édités par Pierre Bergeron en 1648, peuvent déjà être considérés comme appartenant au groupe des voyages extraordinaires. On peut cependant observer en passant qu'il était inutile de mentionner à côté l'*Ile imaginaire* de Segrain qui, par son titre et de l'aveu même de M. Atkinson, appartient à un groupe d'ouvrages entièrement différents.

Avec le chapitre sur la *Terre Australe* de Gabriel de Foigny (1676), nous sommes en plein dans le sujet. Sur l'homme lui-même, M. Atkinson ne nous apprend rien que nous ne sachions. Quant à l'ouvrage il avait été étudié par M. Lichtenberger (*Le socialisme au dix-huitième siècle*, 1895), M. G. Lanson ("Origines et premières manifestations de l'esprit philosophique" *Revue des cours et conférences*, déc. 1907-déc. 1908), et par moi-même (*L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au xvii^e et au xviii^e siècle*), sous ses différents aspects de roman utopique et socialiste, de roman philosophique et de roman exotique. M. Atkinson a voulu d'abord faire un résumé exact des aventures du héros Sadeur dans la Terre australe, aventures où le fantastique et les souvenirs mal digérés des vieilles légendes sur les pays lointains dominant. Il a montré à quels ouvrages, et en particulier à quelles relations de voyages, Foigny avait eu recours pour maints détails de couleur locale et de documentation pittoresque, ce qui à ma connaissance est nouveau. Il a analysé scrupuleusement les singulières dissertations sur la nudité, les hermaphrodites, les descriptions de vie en commun qui composent la partie centrale de l'ouvrage. Il a ainsi écrit l'étude la plus complète qui existe sur un livre dont la valeur littéraire est mince,

mais dont l'importance pour l'histoire des idées est considérable. Alors que dans les *Hermaphrodites* de Thomas Artus (1605), pour ne citer qu'un auteur entre dix, la satire de la cour occupait presque tout le champ, que dans les *Voyages de Vincent Le Blanc* au contraire l'auteur avait été attiré par la partie romanesque et aventureuse, pour la première fois, comme le montre fort bien M. Atkinson, les deux éléments se trouvent juxtaposés sinon encore fondus dans la *Terre Australe*: la satire sociale s'y trouve en effet encadrée par des chapitres de pur roman d'aventures. La formule que devait reprendre Swift dans *Gulliver* est déjà trouvée. Nous sommes d'ailleurs encore bien loin de la perfection du type. Bien que la *Terre Australe* abonde en idées bizarres et hardies, dont quelques-unes sont des inventions folles, tandis que d'autres semblent singulièrement en avance sur le temps, il est difficile de retrouver un système philosophique consistant chez Foigny. A distance nous avons tendance à exagérer l'effet produit par ces descriptions fantaisistes de sociétés imaginaires. Le bon censeur qui en 1704 donnait en ces termes son approbation à une nouvelle édition du livre: "A considérer cet ouvrage comme un pur roman, l'impression peut en être permise," exprimait probablement assez exactement le sentiment public. A ce propos, il me sera permis d'attirer l'attention sur un jugement porté par Lesage sur la *Terre Australe* et qui jusqu'ici me semble avoir échappé à l'attention des chercheurs. On pourra le voir dans *La valise trouvée*, première partie, lettre IX. Lesage qui raconte ensuite très longuement les démêlés de l'abbé Raguenet avec le libraire Barbin à propos de ce même ouvrage, déclare simplement: "Ce livre était un amas de fictions extraordinaires et prodigieuses."

Il en va autrement de l'*Histoire des Sevarambes* de Denis de Vairasse, publiée un an après (1677). Là encore, M. Atkinson a apporté des précisions qui ne manquent pas d'intérêt. Il a étudié l'édition anglaise publiée à Londres en 1675 et 1678 et montré les différences essentielles qui existent entre la version anglaise et la version française. Les pages sur la partie purement aventureuse du roman contiennent des rapprochements concluants avec plusieurs ouvrages dont Vairasse s'est évidemment inspiré. On trouvera, ici encore, chez M. Atkinson un résumé très exact et très précis des chapitres qui traitent des mœurs et des institutions des Sevarambes, de leur religion, de leur système de société

et de leur histoire. Sur un point cependant, je ne suis pas d'accord avec l'auteur. Dans mon livre sur *l'Amérique et le rêve exotique* (p. 208), j'étais arrivé à propos des lois des Sevarambes à une conclusion peu favorable, reproduite par M. Atkinson, et qu'il déclare difficile à comprendre étant donnée "the mild nature of the laws of the Sevarambes" (p. 125 n.). Si l'on s'en rapporte uniquement aux citations et au résumé de M. Atkinson il semble bien avoir raison. Après avoir de nouveau consulté le texte complet, je me sens beaucoup moins convaincu. Il est vrai que la peine de mort n'existe pas chez les Sevarambes; mais immédiatement après les lignes reproduites par M. Atkinson, Vairasse avait ajouté que dans les prisons "on est obligé de travailler beaucoup et l'on y est souvent châtié, et de temps en temps les coupables sont promenés dans les rues pour y être publiquement fouétés autour du Palais et puis ramenés en prison jusqu'à ce que le temps ordonné pour leur châtement soit expiré." (II, 48.) Si ce passage ne suffisait pas à justifier mon opinion je renverrais M. Atkinson à une description détaillée et assez atroce de l'application du fouet (I, p. 132). Je remarque de plus qu'en maints autres endroits Vairasse lui-même insiste sur le caractère rigoureux des lois, bien loin de parler de leur "mild nature," comme le fait M. Atkinson. La médisance et la calomnie sont sévèrement punies par les lois (II, p. 7); l'ivrognerie leur est inconnue "car outre qu'elle serait rigoureusement punie, il leur serait difficile d'avoir de quoy s'enivrer" (II, 9); trois choses empêchent la mauvaise conduite chez les jeunes filles "sçavoir la rigueur des lois, la rareté des occasions . . ."; enfin et surtout, je rappellerai le passage suivant à savoir que chez les Sevarambes, "il n'y a que les vicieux et les perdus qui veuillent s'écarter de la règle commune et faire des actions contraires à la coutume et aux maximes approuvées de tout le monde. Parmi les Sevarambes l'exemple des vicieux incorrigibles ne va jamais guères loin, car on les châtie très sévèrement, et quand on voit qu'ils ne s'amendent point on les envoie aux mines loin de la société des honnêtes gens" (II, p. 8). On sent combien peut être dangereuse, même chez les Sevarambes, l'application de ce dernier principe de gouvernement et à quoi peut mener cette épuratation intégrale de la société.

Les idées de Vairasse et son tableau de la vie des Sevarambes sont trop complexes pour qu'il soit possible de les discuter dans

un compte rendu. M. Atkinson les a fidèlement et sobrement analysées, sans peut-être toujours les commenter assez. A côté de l'exposé des idées de Vairasse sur la religion, idées qui sentent terriblement le fagot, il aurait pu noter au moins en passant les précautions prises naïvement par l'auteur pour se protéger contre les censeurs et ses professions de foi chaleureuses en "la Religion ancienne, Orthodoxe, Catholique et Romaine, hors de laquelle il n'y a point de salut" (II, p. 226). Personne sans doute ne s'y trompait; mais le procédé est au moins amusant et sera repris on sait combien de fois au dix-huitième siècle.

C'est avec le *Télémaque* de Fénelon, d'après M. Atkinson, que le "voyage extraordinaire" atteint à la perfection. On y retrouve l'esprit des récits de voyages plutôt que des emprunts à des relations déterminées ou des souvenirs précis; mais le fait que l'intention didactique et la satire sociale y sont alliées à des aventures de voyage dans des pays mal connus des gens du dix-septième siècle, suffirait pour faire ranger le roman utopique de Fénelon dans le groupe des voyages extraordinaires. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, c'est la partie la moins neuve et la moins originale de l'étude de M. Atkinson.

Dans ce travail très précis et très détaillé, l'auteur a donné un excellent résumé d'ouvrages encore trop peu connus et incomplètement situés. Il a tenu compte des résultats acquis par ses prédécesseurs et a fait lui-même assez de découvertes pour que son livre soit indispensable à qui veut étudier les premières manifestations de l'esprit philosophique en France à la fin du dix-huitième siècle. Je ne vois guère qu'une omission importante à signaler, celle de la thèse de M. Felix Emil Held sur *Johann Valentin Andreae's Christianopolis, an ideal state of the seventeenth century*, The Graduate school of the University of Illinois, 1914, dans laquelle on trouve (pp. 7 et 8) un certain nombre de rapprochements avec les Sevarambes. Il s'en faut d'ailleurs que tout ait été dit sur la *Terre Australe*, sur les *Sevarambes* et sur toutes ces utopies qui apparaissent au dix-septième siècle. Si nous sommes aujourd'hui passablement renseignés sur les grands courants religieux de cette période, il est bien des manifestations secondaires qui nous échappent encore. Ce ne sont pas seulement les romanciers utopistes qui dans leurs imaginations créaient l'état idéal, bien des réformateurs s'efforçaient de le réaliser. M. Atkinson, à propos

des Hermaphrodites de la *Terre Australe*, rappelle très justement un passage de Bayle sur la visionnaire Antoinette Bourignon, née en 1616 et morte en 1660. Foigny, et surtout Vairasse, érudits confus et esprits inquiets, catholiques renégats et protestants de nom, évidemment aussi peu à l'aise dans le calvinisme que dans l'orthodoxie catholique, ont dû, au cours de leurs lectures et de leurs voyages rencontrer bien d'autres hérésies et bien d'autres bizarreries politico-religieuses. On pourrait se demander si Foigny n'a pas emprunté aux Adamites quelques-unes de ses théories sur la nudité; si Vairasse n'avait pas entendu parler des Frères Moraves, peut-être des Vaudois, et plus probablement encore des Labadistes. Il est très vraisemblable qu'il a connu au moins de nom ce singulier Jean Labadie, mort trois ans avant la publication des *Sevarambes*, et qui, après avoir renoncé au catholicisme et avoir vainement essayé de s'accommoder du calvinisme de Genève, avait fondé en Hollande une secte dont les initiés vivaient en commun, mangeaient en commun et croyaient que des unions entre fidèles naissaient des enfants qui n'avaient point part au péché originel (sur Labadie, consulter James Bartlett Burleigh, *The Labadist colony in Maryland, Johns Hopkins studies in historical and political science*, XVIII, 6, 1899). On trouverait ainsi que ces utopies singulières doivent encore plus à la réalité et à la vie que nous ne pensons. Dans tel coin de la Hollande ou de l'Allemagne ont certainement existé de petites sociétés, quelquefois tolérées, souvent persécutées qui, en plus d'un point, ressemblaient à la Terre australe et au pays des Sevarambes et qui ont pu au moins fournir quelques idées aux auteurs de récits de voyages imaginaires.

Ce compte-rendu allait paraître quand un nouvel ouvrage de M. Atkinson m'est parvenu. Ce volume, écrit en anglais, bien que publié en France, contient tout d'abord un résumé assez étendu (pp. 1-26) de l'ouvrage précédent. Au point de vue de la composition, le livre est assez mal balancé: je me refuse à considérer comme des "chapitres" la note de 4 pages consacrée à *l'Histoire de Calejava* de Claude Gilbert, ou la note de 3 pages sur *Lahontan and the "good savage."* L'appendice I sur Bordelon, Bougeant et Lesconvel, aurait fort bien trouvé place dans une note de *l'Introduction*; les indications sur les "illustrations" et les gravures de De Bry (Appendice III, xiv et xv) auraient dû être mises en notes au chapitre sur le *Voyage de François Leguat*. Par contre, les

chapitres sur *Le Voyage de François Leguat* de Maximilien Misson et sur *Les voyages de Jacques Massé* de Tyssot de Patot contiennent quantités de renseignements nouveaux et intéressants dont quelques-uns sont de vraies trouvailles. M. Atkinson a le premier prouvé que le *Voyage de Leguat* accepté comme authentique dans des ouvrages aussi récents que la *Grande Encyclopédie* ou l'*Encyclopaedia Britannica* est, à n'en point douter, une compilation sans originalité d'un écrivain assez obscur, Maximilien Misson. François Leguat considéré pendant longtemps comme une autorité par les naturalistes n'a jamais existé que dans l'imagination de Misson, sur ce point aucun doute ne saurait subsister. Je ne suis pas certain que les indications sur les sources de Misson données par M. Atkinson tant dans le chapitre sur le *Voyage de Leguat* que dans l'appendice soient toutes exactes. Lui-même serait le premier à en convenir, sans doute. Les auteurs indiqués par M. Atkinson ont largement utilisé leurs prédécesseurs et sont loin d'être originaux ; c'est souvent le cas de du Tertre, et encore plus souvent le cas de Rochefort. De ce que les arbres reproduits dans les gravures de Misson ont une forme sphérique, il ne s'ensuit pas qu'il a consulté les planches du *Voyage to Jamaica* où les arbres affectent la même forme. Les arbres sphériques abondent dans les vieilles gravures et sont la règle plutôt que l'exception. Mais ce sont là des détails. Il ne vaudrait guère la peine de refaire l'histoire des descriptions des chauves-souris ou du paille-en-queue (mentionné sous un bien plus vilain nom déjà, par Thévet, si je ne me trompe), l'essentiel est que nous sachions désormais qu'il s'agit là d'une supercherie littéraire et non d'un récit authentique. On s'étonne seulement après avoir lu la démonstration de M. Atkinson que les naturalistes aient pu s'y tromper si longtemps.

Les deux chapitres sur Simon Tyssot de Patot constituent l'étude la plus documentée qui ait paru jusqu'à ce jour sur ce singulier professeur de mathématiques qui, sous le masque de récits de voyages, expose les idées les plus hardies et les moins orthodoxes. Là encore, on pourrait chicaner M. Atkinson sur quelques détails. Il n'est point du tout certain que le récit de la tempête (p. 90) ait été emprunté à la *Relation* de Dellon ; il vient tout droit de Rabelais et ce n'est sans doute pas le seul souvenir de son œuvre que l'on trouverait tant chez Misson que chez de Patot. D'ailleurs, les rapprochements indiqués par M. Atkinson sont en général

plus convaincants. Il me permettra cependant de lui adresser en terminant une critique qui à mon avis est la plus sérieuse que l'on puisse faire sur ses deux ouvrages. Si désormais, grâce à lui, nous sommes parfaitement renseignés sur les sources utilisées par les auteurs de voyages extraordinaires pour maint trait de mœurs ou de couleur locale, nous savons moins exactement où ces auteurs ont emprunté leurs idées sociales et philosophiques et comment ils se rattachent aux courants d'idées qui commençaient à se manifester de leur temps. Sur ce dernier point, M. Atkinson, si prodigue de rapprochements quand il s'agit d'histoire naturelle, se montre singulièrement réservé et n'ajoute que peu à ce qui était déjà connu. Il nous indique lui-même cependant, en note (p. 80), que la philosophie de Descartes, Hobbes, Gassendi et Arnaud est mentionnée par Tyssot de Patot. Ailleurs (pp. 88 et 97), il nous dit que M. Lanson avait déjà noté que Tyssot pouvait devoir quelque chose à Fontenelle et avait signalé des ressemblances avec Saint-Evremond et Spinoza. On peut se demander si ce n'est pas sur cette voie que l'auteur de ce travail, qui représente des recherches considérables et fort consciencieuses, aurait dû aiguiller son enquête. Il y a là un "bel os à moelle" qui promet la plus "substantifique" récompense à qui aura le courage de s'y attaquer. Personne n'était mieux préparé que M. Atkinson pour le faire avec succès et l'on peut regretter qu'il ne l'ait point fait.

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Young Boswell: Chapters on James Boswell, the Biographer, based largely on new material. By CHAUNCEY BREWSTER TINKER. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press, 1922.

Young Boswell makes an irresistible appeal to readers whose interest in the eighteenth century is broad rather than deep. Its easy style and clear narrative manner, together with just enough of the author's own half-suppressed humor to suggest those delightful lectures which Yale graduates look back on with delight, combine to give the book a peculiar charm.

If anyone supposes that the publication of a new series of bio-

graphical essays on Boswell is a work of supererogation in view of the number of studies already at hand, he has only to read this volume in order to discover his error. Indeed, it may be urged with reason that the very superfluity of available material on Boswell has created a special demand for a thorough and unprejudiced survey of the whole field. Few English men of letters have had a wider circle of acquaintance than Boswell, and from the countless supplementary and contradictory reports of his unique personality that have come down to us it is possible to build up a dozen different interpretations, most of which are inevitably misinterpretations. From the scathing ridicule of Macaulay to the half-hearted defense of Keith Leask, many criticisms of Boswell have seemed designed to astonish and amuse rather than to inform. Meanwhile readers of the *Life of Johnson* have constantly felt that the author of that great work, however conceited and eccentric, could not possibly have been so petty or so boorish as he has been painted. And now comes *Young Boswell*, entertaining without being tawdry, convincing without being controversial.

Particularly illuminating is the study of Boswell's social genius, and of his biographical methods as revealed in his letters, journals, and proof-sheets. The new material is, indeed, invaluable, not in giving new incidents in his life but in clarifying our conception of his aims and ideals as a biographer.

There is not, however, as much new material in one particular as one might infer from a hasty glance at the Preface. Boswell's letters to Temple are well known, and though Professor Tinker informs us that the MS. "has not been studied since 1857," the *editio princeps* of that year, supplemented by Thomas Seccombe's edition (1908), leaves but little to be desired. A careful collation of the sixteen letters quoted, with the same letters as printed in 1908, has enabled me to find only one (p. 28—incorrectly indexed as p. 18) where a new reading of the MS. has been of any material importance.

By an odd coincidence the chapters on "Boswell in Love" and "Wooing a Wife," which aroused such enthusiasm when printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*, will be the least satisfactory to careful students of the eighteenth century. It is unfortunate, but perhaps inevitable in view of the lack of evidence, that "the Moffat

woman" and Miss "W——t" should both remain unidentified. There would seem, however, to be no special reason for dismissing Boswell's wife, in a long chapter entitled "Wooing a Wife," with less than three pages, and with no hint of the humiliating terms on which she married. As a matter of fact, the terms which Margaret Montgomery accepted as a condition of her marriage furnished Boswell with a club to hold over her during all the rest of her life. How often he used it is a matter of conjecture. When he had the insolence to publish, in 1781, the conditions of their one-sided matrimonial bargain, he paid his wife the awkward compliment of saying that he had never had to use it—*yet*. But the threat remained:

"Naturally somewhat singular, independent of any additions which affectations and vanity may perhaps have made, I resolved to have a more pleasing species of marriage than common, and bargained with my bride that I should not be bound to live with her longer than I really inclined; and that whenever I tired of her domestic society I should be at liberty to give it up. Eleven years have elapsed, and I have never yet wished to take advantage of my stipulated privilege."¹

If Professor Tinker was looking for pathos, here is material far more pathetic than the unconvincing *argument from silence* on which (pp. 163-4) he leans so heavily.

A much more startling lack in these chapters concerns the long narrative of Boswell's Dutch flirtation. The heroine of this international romance, Mlle. de Zuylen, is not adequately identified, and her own version of why she broke with Boswell—the point of the whole story—is omitted. It seems impossible that Professor Tinker could be unaware of the facts, but equally impossible that, being aware of them, he would cut the heart out of his story by suppressing them. Who was this Mlle. de Zuylen, intimately known as Zélide? She was to become the famous Mme. de Charrière; her pen name, when she used one, was *Abbé de la Tour*; she was a satirist and novelist of no mean importance, several of her works being translated into English and German; after her marriage she became the confidante of Benjamin Constant, who finally abandoned her for Mme. de Staël; she has been honored

¹ Quoted in Hill's edition of Boswell, VI, p. 26, n., from Boswell's *Hypochondriacks* in the *London Magazine*, 1781, p. 156.

by two long essays from the pen of Sainte-Beuve;² she is the subject of a profusely illustrated two-volume biography by Philippe Godet, *Mme. de Charrière et ses amis*, from which the full story of her affair with Boswell has been excellently retold in English by Augustin Birrell in the *Fortnightly Review* for September, 1906, and again by Francis Gribble in the *Nineteenth Century* for November, 1912. Although Boswell's letters to Temple are drawn on at great length by Professor Tinker for the man's side of the story, they leave at the very climax a gap which can be supplied from the correspondence of Zélide herself.

For a long time these two had been attracted and repelled by each other. The marriage of a notorious libertine like Boswell, who, nevertheless, insisted on absolute decorum from his wife, to a woman as defiantly unconventional as Zélide, held forth a promise of keen excitement to the world at large and to the two principals themselves. By piecing together the available letters we find that they were on the point of accepting each other when Zélide discovered in her admirer a degree of literary vanity that she could not tolerate. She was preparing not only to translate Boswell's *Corsica* into French but to abridge it. To Boswell this was little short of sacrilege, and his attitude on the matter gave Zélide a new insight into his character which led her to break with him. The absolute frankness of her correspondence with Constant d'Hermenches leaves us little ground to suspect the truth of the following statement written to him on June 2nd, 1768:

"L'auteur [Boswell] quoiqu'il fût dans ce moment presque décidé à m'épouser, si je le voulais, n'a pas voulu sacrifier à mon goût une syllabe de son livre. Je lui ai écrit que j'étais très décidée à ne jamais l'épouser, et j'ai abandonné la traduction."³

If literary collaboration was impossible, Zélide knew only too well that the infinitely more complex collaboration of domestic life would be far more so. He would not sacrifice "a syllable,"—and she would not, for such a man, sacrifice her independence. And what an escape for them both! Boswell rebounded (after several awkward caroms) into the arms of long-suffering Margaret Mont-

² In *Portraits des femmes* and *Portraits littéraires*.

³ Philippe Godet, *Madame de Charrière et ses amis* (Genève, 1906), I, pp. 138-9.

gomery; while Zélide, soon tired of her humdrum life as Mme. de Charrière the schoolmaster's wife, found what consolation she could in a brilliant literary career and in the intimate friendship of Benjamin Constant.

Although the omission of such important material from the chapters on "Boswell in Love" and "Wooing a Wife" might well shake one's confidence in all the rest of the book, such omissions are the exception rather than the rule. In general, the old material is carefully handled, with a generous admixture of letters now first printed. Hence it is that the book as a whole serves to convey a clearer and fairer picture of Boswell than we have had before. He is not the Boswell of the older biographies, an insolent idiot, but a boisterous, eccentric genius always willing to put himself in a bad light in order to illustrate the dazzling radiance of Dr. Johnson.

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Short Stories of America. By ROBERT L. RAMSAY, Ph. D. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1921. 348 pp.

It may be conceded, I believe, that further analysis of the short story art is not urgently needed. The secrets of the writer's technique have been adequately disclosed in dozens of manuals and text-books. But for discriminating collections of short stories, particularly those made from a fresh point of view, there is always room. Such a book is the collection of regional short stories which Professor Ramsay has brought together.

The book is not, as the title might seem to indicate, a gathering of patriotic or historical tales. It is only geographically that these stories may be called American, for their authors seize eagerly upon alien ways and half-foreign speech or upon archaic survivals that seem scarcely less foreign. And they can hardly be said to portray the diverse scenery of America more faithfully than do many ordinary stories of adventure. A text-book need not, of course, be named with technical precision; and it must be admitted that for the literary type with which Professor Ramsay deals no wholly satisfactory name has been devised. Of the three which he mentions—American regionalism, local color, and the spirit of home—the last seems to me wholly inadmissible. Home as such

plays no real part in these stories, and its spirit, whatever it may be, has not been confined to any form of literature. The term local color, besides belonging to another art, is perhaps somewhat narrower than the thing to be named, for Professor Ramsay has found in the contrast between regionalism, "the literature of the restricted locality," and Americanism, "the literature of the undifferentiated nation as a whole," something akin to the strife between states' rights and national unity.

This contrast is made concrete by a literary map in which the regions already exploited by the local colorists appear as the twenty-five literary states of America. These states are grouped into five sections: New England, The East, The South, The Middle West, and The West. In the South, for example, Professor Ramsay finds eight literary states: *The Old Dominion*, *Appalachia*, the mountain-section, *The Blue Grass*, *The Middle South*, *The Lower South*, *The Swamp Region*, *The Creole Country*, *The River Country*, and *Canebrakes and Ozarks*.

No attempt has been made to represent each of these states by a story. The selections are grouped, according to stages in the development of the local color short story, into four classes: American types, American traditions, American landscapes, and American communities, in the last of which are blended evenly the elements of picturesque type, social heritage, and local scene. With the exception of *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, which is demanded by chronology, and *A Municipal Report*, which it would be hard to omit, though it probably belongs as much to some other parts of the South as to the Blue Grass, Professor Ramsay has been able to choose stories that have not yet found their way into the anthologies. This book is consequently as interesting to the general reader as to the student of American fiction. It is supplied with study questions and reading lists, designed to make the regional short story, not only "the interpreter of America," but also a means of escape, for students and teachers, from the tedium of the "weekly theme."

Professor Ramsay is an inveterate and acute maker of classifications. His book impresses one as an example of good workmanship throughout; and in thus setting before us in orderly array the riches of our regional fiction he has performed an extremely useful service.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ON *King Lear*

In your June issue (pp. 346-347), Mr. W. F. Tamblyn shows that Burgundy of *King Lear* is an insertion by Shakespeare in the old story and argues that by Burgundy Shakespeare meant the king of Spain. This interpretation fits well into the historical events of the time, for France and Spain were the candidates for the hand of Princess Elizabeth as France and Burgundy are for that of Cordelia. Immediately after the accession of King James, Rosny, the French ambassador, proposed a marriage between Elizabeth and the Dauphin of France, a proposal that was supposed at the time to have met with high favor from King James.¹ On the other hand, James was trying to dicker off Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth to the King of Spain and the catholic interests, among other things, for the acknowledged headship of the English church.² It is to be remembered in this connection that in part of these negotiations Shakespeare himself played the part of an idle uniform.³ Also, part of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605 was to marry Princess Elizabeth to some Catholic gentleman and thus retain control of the government.⁴ Thus the marriage of Princess Elizabeth was a live issue 1603-6, within which period *Lear* was written, and the contestants were France and Spain, parti-protestant and catholic.

It seems then that Mr. Tamblyn has here unearthed a pretty little hint from William Shakespeare to King James, officially delivered Dec. 26, 1606. The hint is doubly interesting as indicating Shakespeare's own reaction on this important question. We are not justified, it is true, in supposing that Shakespeare was now all love for France, since the favorable conception of France in *Lear* is to be found also in the source, and the conception needed heightening for proper contrast; it may be merely not that Shakespeare disliked France less but that he disliked Spain more. Still I think one feels a little less of insular prejudice here against the French than in many of the earlier plays. Probably then, thanks to a broader experience and to some years of residence with the Frenchman Mountjoy, the wig maker of Silver Street, Shakespeare was now more appreciative of France. At any rate, we have here some indication that Shakespeare leaned to France rather than to Spain, with all that such leaning implies.

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¹ Gardiner, *History of England 1603-1642*, I, 107; Aikin, *Memoirs of the Court of King James I*, I, 134.

² Gardiner, *History*, I and II; Aikin, *Memoirs*, I.

³ Law, *Shakespeare as a Groom of the Chamber*.

⁴ Gayley, *Beaumont the Dramatist*, 52.

POEMS "SIGNED" BY SIR THOMAS WYATT

The edition of Surrey's poems by Prof. Padelford includes, as no. 20 of its texts, five stanzas beginning "I that Vlysses yeres haue spent." Though assigned to Surrey by the only manuscript, Harley 78, this poem is by Tottel (ed. Arber p. 241) included among the poems by Uncertain Authors, and Prof. Padelford considers its authenticity "very doubtful."

Upon the question of authenticity or authorship some light may be cast by observing that the initial letters of the five stanzas are I-A-W-T-T, which, by a transposition not difficult to the Tudor mind, give Wyatt's name.

Another poem, not in any manuscript known to us, and printed by Tottel (Arber p. 14) among the poems of Surrey, is reprinted thence by Prof. Padelford as his no. 13. It opens "When ragyng loue with extreme payne," and the initial letters of its five stanzas read, in sequence, W-I-A-T-T.

Both these poems are in six-line stanzas, and of five stanzas only; another poem of the same structure and length, printed by Tottel (Arber p. 184) among verse by Uncertain Authors, is initialled T-A-W-I-T.

To these it may be added that one of the accredited Wyatt-poems, printed from Ms. Add. 17492 by Miss Foxwell on p. 315 of her first volume, has to its three seven-line stanzas this sequence of line-initials:—T-T-T-T-T-W-A; T-T-T-T-T-Y; W-W-W-W-T-T. Not only the mass of W's and T's here, but the T. WYATT given by the initials of 6 and 7, 13 and 14, 20 and 21, proclaim the authorship of the poem, which is not in the autograph Egerton Ms. nor in Tottel. Wyatt's procedure here makes it evident that he was no stranger to the literary trick he uses. He uses it, indeed, for other than his own name; the poem printed by Miss Foxwell 1: 257, and beginning "Suffryng in sorow in hope to attayn," shows in its stanza-initials the word SHELTON. As the unique copy is found in Ms. Add. 17492, once the property of Surrey's sister and of her friend Mary Shelton, and as the name of Mary Shelton is written at the foot of the page bearing the poem, such evidence of Wyatt's literary "gallantry" has its interest.

The editor of Wyatt-texts, noting the first three poems above mentioned, and looking through the Wyatt-corpus for any further traces of such signatures, is puzzled by the verse printed pp. 286, 323, and 357 of Miss Foxwell's edition. In the poem at p. 286 the five stanzas give the initials I-A-W-T-Y; in the second poem we find A-W-W-T-I. These are both from the manuscript Add. 17492. The third text, from the *Courte of Venus*, shows T-W-W-I-T-A. Regarding the first of the three we may observe that the Y represents in Miss Foxwell's print the word *Ytt*. Should we read "That," instead, we might by no very great strain

take the anagram to be WIATT or T. WIAT. In the case of the other two poems we may query whether the second W be intentional on the writer's part, or whether the frequency of line-openings with *When*, with *And*, with *The*, *Thou*, or *That*, and (in lyric) with the pronoun *I*, is responsible for some of these apparent signatures.

Such a query is emphasized by reading Wyatt's epigram *To Anna* (Foxwell p. 48), in which the first four of the seven lines are initialled W-T-I-A; and by noting the first four tercets of the satire to Brian (ibid. p. 147) with their sequence A-T-W-I; also by the first four lines of the treizaine on p. 171, beginning Y-T-W-A. The second of these cases is worth very little, the poem being in terza rima; nor is there any import in the inset-initialling W-W-I-T-A etc. on p. 256 of Tottel, since that poem is in couplets. And in such a poem as the quatrains printed Tottel p. 191, the fact that the first five lines begin A-T-W-A-I is another argument for the possibility of coincidence. One hardly knows, indeed, where to draw the line between such anagrams as the long-obvious *Damascene Awdley* and *Edward Somerset* (Tottel 105, 164) and the *An Adams* of Wyatt's (doubtful) poem printed on p. 268 of Miss Foxwell's edition. Where is the frontier between coincidence and deliberate purpose?

But as for the Shelton poem and that beginning "The ioye so short alas the paine so nere," there can be no doubt of the poet's intention. In the latter the student of poetry as well as the mechanician shows his hand; the line moves with the same flow that is heard at the beginning of an anonymous poem of the Ms. Fairfax 16,—"The tyme so long the payn ay mor and more,"—and, earlier than these, in the opening line of Chaucer's *Parlement of Foules*. Compare, too, Sackville's *Induction*, line 288.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The Problem of Style, by J. Middleton Murry (Oxford University Press, 1922. vii, 148 pp.). Here are six excellent lectures, which "were delivered in the school of English Literature at Oxford . . . in the Summer Term of 1921." The titles are: (1) the Meaning of Style; (2) the Psychology of Style; (3) Poetry and Prose; (4) the Central Problem of Style; (5) the Process of Creative Style; (6) the English Bible; and the Grand Style. An analytic table of contents serves the useful purpose of

showing the argument in outline,—an outline of the details employed to elucidate the primary aspects of the subject assumed in the six titles.

As here discussed the problem of style concerns the literary artist, not the pupils in the composition-classes of the schools and colleges. The instructor of composition has few occasions to report a pupil that has acquired a true and practical conception of style. This is not as it should be, nor is the remedy far to seek. Surely the college-student should be brought to understand and to feel deeply the truth that 'writing' is self-expression. To teach and to be taught the meaning of 'self-expression' should prove a mutual delight, for that meaning is both profoundly and attractively philosophic. The teacher should persist in the inculcation of the truth that the art of expression in language from its elementary forms all the way thru to its highest forms is made valid by the observance of the same underlying principles of taste and intellectual rectitude. The creed of the class in composition is also the creed of the 'writer' who by his art has won membership in the Academy. Buffon's famous address,—well, is not every precept and observation applicable to the beginner? Not to recall the truest of all brief definitions of style, *le style est l'homme même*, let a few of his sentences be cited: "Style is simply the order and movement one gives to one's thoughts." . . . "The human spirit can *create* nothing, nor can it bring forth at all until fertilized by experience and meditation; in its acquired knowledge lie the germs of its productions." A proper preparation, by study, reflection, and planning brings the mind into a state of eagerness for writing. The writer (seldom a member of a composition-class) "has now only pleasure in writing: his ideas follow one another easily, and the style is natural and smooth. A certain warmth born of that pleasure diffuses itself throughout, giving life to every phrase." [The citations from Buffon are according to Dr. Lane Cooper's *Theories of Style*, The Macmillan Co., 1907.]

Mr. Murry's lectures are admirably planned and composed to conduct the reader in an instructive and entertaining manner thru a survey of the characteristics of style in creative literature. He does not, one must regret, trace the highest forms of style from their true beginning in the early stages of one's training in speech and writing, from that period of experience in which the elementary teacher is expected to establish initial habits in the proper use of the vernacular art. Fundamental to a discussion of style, highly developed and conventionalized, would be a chapter on the growth of the mind in the perception of the truth that expression in language in all its degrees is the practice of an art in its various degrees and conventionalized forms. That the primary principle of self-expression in the true sense of style can be inculcated in early years is demonstrated by what in those years is acquired

respecting individuality in dress while conforming to approved standards. The analogy has more value than would be inferred from Mr. Murry's references to it: "Style is organic—not the clothes a man wears, but the flesh, bone, and blood of his body" (p. 136); "to judge style primarily by an analysis of language is almost on a level with judging a man by his clothes" (p. 134). Mr. Murry tends to indulge in emphatic exclusions of this sort and thereby sacrifices the inherent comprehensiveness of his subject, altho gaining in precision of definition for a less organic and more restricted aspect of creative style. For example, he contends that the issue is confused by allowing "good taste in language . . . to masquerade as a creative principle. Good taste in language will not carry a writer anywhere." The argument follows: Massinger had taste in language but "his style was generally bad," because "his way of feeling and thinking was not his own; his perceptions were blunted and clumsy." Conversely, Webster had "positive style," but "not at all a good taste in language,"— . . . "but his way of thinking and feeling was individual" (p. 137).

Mr. Murry handles his subject in a gracefully free manner. He is not restrained by the plan of a formal treatise, altho he offers material that would gain another value if put into that framework. The free manner provides an escape from responsibilities of the rigid sort. It does not so seriously warn against "the danger of talking about the accidents and not about the essentials," or "the danger of vague generalization." It prepares a broad canvas: "Style is many things"; but the law of perspective demands a fixed point of view, a centralizing tenet: "Style is many things; but the more definable these are, the more capable of being pointed at with the finger, the more remote are they from the central meaning hidden in the word: the expression that is inevitable and organic to an individual mode of experience" (p. 35). The dominant teaching of these lectures is thus briefly expressed; it is the recognition of a central meaning to a wide complexity of meanings. The central meaning adopted is developed from Stendhal's "best of all definitions of style," which is translated thus: "Style is this: to add to a given thought all the circumstances fitted to produce the whole effect that the thought ought to produce" (p. 79). This should be added: "I do not think, therefore, that there is any improper simplification in regarding the work of literature as the communication of individual thought and feeling, or in taking Stendhal's definition, interpreted largely, as one which holds good of style of every kind, in so far as it is excellent in its kind" (p. 125). In other terms, says Mr. Murry, "Style is a quality of language which communicates precisely emotions or thoughts, or a system of emotions or thoughts peculiar to the author," and inasmuch as it has been argued that prose is essentially of the same creative nature as poetry, the definition is further articulated: "Where thought predominates, there the

expression will be in prose; where emotion predominates, the expression will be indifferently in prose or poetry, except that in case of overwhelming immediate personal emotion the tendency is to find expression in poetry. Style is perfect when the communication of the thought or emotion is exactly accomplished; its position in the scale of greatness, however, will depend upon the comprehensiveness of the system of emotions and thoughts to which the reference is perceptible" (p. 71).

Style must therefore precisely communicate individual mode of experience, individual thought and feeling or emotions. The intellectual side of style, the element of knowledge or science and the enriching colors of allusion would thus seem to be adequately symbolized in the word 'thought' (defined as a general term, p. 79). But Mr. Murry does not with Coleridge consider the outfit in knowledge required to write an epic; he is not mindful of what Keats lamented in his preparation to write his best; he does not with Wordsworth find it to his purpose to observe the hand-in-hand march of science and poetry; but he does offer the challenging dictum: "In literature there is no such thing as pure thought; in literature, thought is always the handmaid of emotion" (p. 73). And "The thought that plays a part in literature is systematized emotion, emotion become habitual till it attains the dignity of conviction. . . . In one way or another the whole of literature consists in this communication of emotion" (p. 74). But is not the profounder truth disclosed by substituting emotionalized knowledge for 'systematized emotion'? The poet, it would seem, must know the things as they are before he can represent them as they should be.

The true relation of emotion to exact knowledge is not discussed by Mr. Murry, and this omission impels one to revert to the need of elementary school-instruction that may be soundly philosophic and therefore true to the principles of the vernacular art. The 'love of knowledge,' which the schools should strive to awaken and strengthen has the emotional implications of the 'mode of experience' assumed by Mr. Murry to lie at the foundation of 'true style,' of pleasurable and honest self-expression. A complete philosophy of style is therefore not attempted in these lectures, but there is a good fund of discerning criticism and a persuasive adroitness in elucidating various aspects of the central problem of style in the highest forms of creative literature.

Special attention is called to the adoption of the word 'crystallization' (note p. 146) in the last three lectures to describe what "is central to the effort after precision" (p. 88, cf. p. 95). "In metaphor we have this process of crystallization in its most elaborate form" (p. 98). This 'process' is "harped upon" and "emphasized" with the conviction that to save it from neglect or misuse is to rebuke the heresy of the imagist (p. 110). But Mr.

Murry would have deserved thanks by a summarizing definition of his new term. The term must be used to signify that the creative style has its culminations in symbols that carry the meaning of the 'thought' or the emotion to a true apex. One may venture to say that Mr. Murry's style attains crystallization when, warning the writer against a condition of society produced by "modern sentimentality" and "empty emotionalism," he exclaims "it is as though he [the writer] found himself playing on a piano whose every key sounded the same note" (p. 131). The figure surely yields a fine emphasis: "In the exasperated endeavour to get some differentiation of response out of it he is tempted to exaggerate, to pound with a hammer upon those senseless keys."

The argument is often pointed by a bit of concrete criticism: "When the musical suggestion is allowed to predominate, decadence of style has begun. I think you will find a great many examples of this sacrifice of the true creativeness of language in Swinburne, and not a few in . . . Mr. Conrad" (p. 86). Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, "a masterpiece of prose," is "an example of a perfect idiosyncrasy of style" (p. 17); whereas an artificiality becomes "unhealthy" in the later work both of Meredith and Henry James" (p. 18); these authors, it is believed, "suffered from . . . atrophy of the central originating powers" (p. 21). An excessive delight in the formal graces and intricacies of style may "take the place of the primary emotion upon which a real vitality of style depends," and that "was not seldom the fate of Henry James," who attained "an hypertrophy of style. It has a sort of vitality; but it is the vitality of a weed or a mushroom, a vitality that we cannot call precisely spurious, but that we certainly cannot call real" (p. 22). There is a challenge in some of Mr. Murry's critical *obiter dicta*. Thus Wordsworth's *Resolution and Independence* "might have been a great poem; *instead it is a great ruin*" (p. 106). Some "great works of literature are awkward and uncomfortable in their form," that is what one feels to be true of *Hamlet*, Wordsworth's *Prelude*, *The Ring and the Book*, and *The Dynasts* (p. 54). Mr. Murry feels "that the superstitious reverence for the style of the Authorized Version really stands in the way of a frank approach to the problem of style" He believes it "scarcely an exaggeration to say that the style of one half of the English Bible is atrocious" (p. 135).

That the same fundamental principles govern all grades of style, of personal expression, from the elementary school or from the limited individuality to the highest art of the genius, this truth is stressed at the end of these lectures, but still not in the way of recognizing the pedagogic side of the subject called for in this notice. But these closing words have the widest application: "the smallest writer can do something to ensure that his individu-

ality is not lost, by trying to make sure that he feels what he thinks he feels;—that he thinks what he thinks he thinks, that his words mean what he thinks they mean.”

J. W. B.

Contemporary French Texts. General Editor, E. B. Babcock. Vol. I. Paul Hervieu: *La Course du flambeau*. Edited with Introduction, Notes and Vocabulary by G. N. Henning (Boston, D. C. Heath & Co., 1922. xxi, 151 pp.). The new series of *Contemporary French Texts* will present modern masterpieces, written within the last generation. In his “Avis au lecteur,” prefacing this series, Professor Babcock stresses the importance of knowing contemporary works of fiction, poetry, and especially drama. For the initial volume it was no mistake to choose Hervieu as author and Professor Henning as editor. The former was the foremost psychological dramatist of pre-war days; the latter is well-known for his careful editorial workmanship (on Dumas’ *Question d’argent*, on *French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century*, etc.). The present volume is equipped with complete apparatus: Introduction, Bibliography, Notes and Vocabulary. The Introduction, though brief, is thorough-going in its handling of Hervieu’s life and character, his realism, his career as novelist and playwright. If there is a fault, it may be that extreme condensation and the desire to make a number of good points have tended rather to blur the total picture. But the important thing is that Professor Henning has written a really *literary* Introduction and the same merit attaches to a number of his Notes—that is, they not only explain matters of a linguistic or socio-historical significance, but they discuss the characters and plot, the quality of style and the philosophy of life contained in *La Course du flambeau*. This procedure is highly to be recommended to other editors of French texts. Few of these at present satisfy what is the chief interest of the intelligent advanced student—namely, to learn something about the author’s material in the way of ideas and his treatment in the way of technique. Are such matters to be left forever to the initiative and resources of the individual instructor? Now that so many mature people are improving their knowledge of French, literary interpretation should no longer be largely suppressed for the greater glory of the *passé indéfini* or in order to record once more when the battle of Waterloo was fought. Professor Henning does not neglect such information, but he also—to give specific instances—discusses the motivation in Sabine’s rejection of Stangy, notes the advancing complexity in Hervieu’s style, and compares his attitude regarding divorce with that of other playwrights. One could have wished that he had done even more to link Hervieu with Dumas *fils* and to demonstrate how *La Course du flambeau* is a “well-made play.” For example, the

alignment, in Act I, of the two incidental mothers—one who is spoiled and one who does the spoiling—is a device of which Dumas *fits* would have approved. Few omissions, of the annoying kind that confess editorial ignorance, are to be found either in Notes or Vocabulary. Perhaps a little more explanation of French bankruptcy and its terms would have been appropriate. A good short Bibliography adds to the value of this thoroughly commendable text.

E. P. D.

Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache von Paul Kretschmer (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1918. xvi + 638 pp.). This is not a new dialect dictionary, but a cross-section, as it were, of all the German dialect dictionaries. This does not mean that all the material there contained is here reproduced: this would require a work larger than Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. It is rather an epitome of the most interesting dialect material found in the conventional dictionaries, supplemented by data obtained by the author from his informants at various places in German-speaking territory. It is largely a dictionary of concepts and ideas, whereas mere dialect words, for which there is no equivalent in other parts of the country, have been excluded. Furthermore, names of animals and plants have only been included where special interest attached to the forms in question: ten pages, for example, are devoted to a discussion of *Kartoffel*, *Erdapfel*, *Grundbirne*, and their dialectic derivatives. *Flieder*, *Holder*, and *Holunder*, which do not everywhere designate the same plant, are also treated with discrimination and interest. Most striking, however, is the wealth of material collected under the heading *schlittern*, 'auf einer mit Eis bedeckten glatten Stelle mit den Stiefeln dahingleiten,' i. e. 'to slide on the ice.' This children's term has escaped the levelling influence of the literary language, and the author has thus been able to record and to discuss more than fifty designations for this universal sport:

schlittern, glitschen, schorren, schleistern, hackern, glisseken, schüttern, schlindern, reiten, reiteln, schlieen, Bahn schlagen, schlickern, schusseln, zescheln, zischen, ruscheln, schindern, schinguliren, kascheln, köschen, rutschen, klennern, glennen, schleifen, schliffeln, schlifetzen, schlussern, schlimmern, hätscheln, hötschen, heizeln, hälzeln, rantscheln, rieseln, russeln, tschussen, kladerietschen, tschirrn, schiffeln, tschillern, tschmidern, schuppern, schuffeln, schuben, schabeiten, scharweiden, rinnen, schlibberen, schleichen, schlichtern, tschibeln, zwiefeln, schlieren, rollen.

These instances will suffice to show that even the well-equipped scholar will find in this indispensable book a wealth, not only of information, but also of stimulation.

W. K.

INDEX

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|------|---|------|
| Adjectives in Lope de Vega... | 398 | Benedetto, L. F., <i>Le origini di</i> | |
| Adjuration, Asseveration and | | <i>Salammbô</i> | 175 |
| — | 292 | <i>Beowulf</i> | 418 |
| <i>aigre</i> , O. F. | 438 | Bierstadt, A. M., Unacknowl- | |
| Alliterative Poem. | 355 | edged Poems by Thomas | |
| America, Short Stories of. | 502 | Campbell | 343 |
| American College Play. | 157 | Bonnard, Sylvestre, and the | |
| — Novel. | 115 | Fairy | 248 |
| Analysis, Semantic. | 251 | —, and Philetas. | 56 |
| Armstrong, E. C.: Lanson's | | Book of German Lyrics. | 431 |
| Manuel bibliographique de la | | Boswell, James. | 498 |
| littérature française. | 64 | Bridges, R., Milton's Prosody. | 316 |
| Arnold, Matthew. | 183 | Brief Rejoinder. | 181 |
| Art, Sepulchre of Christ in—, | 367 | Bright, J. W.: R. Bridges, Mil- | |
| <i>As You Like It</i> | 65 | ton's Prosody. | 316 |
| Asseveration and Adjuration.. | 292 | —: O. Jespersen, Language: | |
| Atkinson, G., The Extraordi- | | its Nature, Development, and | |
| nary Voyage in French Lite- | | Origin | 379 |
| rature before 1700; The Extra- | | —: F. P. Le Buffe, <i>The</i> | |
| ordinary Voyage in French | | <i>Hound of Heaven: An Inter-</i> | |
| Literature from 1700 to 1720, | 491 | pretation | 124 |
| Austin, H. D., Dante Notes. | 36 | —: J. M. Murry, The Prob- | |
| Babbitt, I., Schiller and Ro- | | lem of Style. | 506 |
| manticism | 257 | —: T. S. Omond, A Study of | |
| —, Reply to Professor —. | 268 | Metre | 59 |
| Bach, M. G., Wieland's Atti- | | —: Philological Quarterly. | 254 |
| tude toward Woman and her | | —: G. Sampson, English for | |
| Cultural and Social Relations, | 482 | the English. | 445 |
| Background of Browning's <i>Love</i> | | —: E. Sapir, Language: An | |
| <i>Among the Ruins</i> | 312 | Introduction to the Study of | |
| Baldwin, T. W., <i>On King Lear</i> , | 504 | Speech | 188 |
| Banville, Théodore de. | 328 | —: G. Stern, 'Swift,' 'Swift- | |
| <i>Barnavelt</i> | 470 | ly,' and their Synonyms. | 251 |
| Baudin, M., The Rôle of the | | Brooke, T., Stanza-Connection | |
| Ghost in <i>Hamlet</i> | 185 | in the <i>Fairy Queen</i> | 223 |
| Baum, P. F., The Mare and the | | Brooks, N. C., The Sepulchre of | |
| Wolf | 350 | Christ in Art and Liturgy | |
| Bayle, Pierre, and his Bio- | | with Special Reference to the | |
| graphers | 55 | Liturgic Drama. | 367 |
| Beauchamps' <i>Recherches sur les</i> | | Broughton, L. N.: O. Elton, A | |
| <i>Théâtres de France</i> | 466 | Survey of English Literature, | |
| Beck, Margaret M., The Dance | | 1780-1880 | 110 |
| of Death in Shakespeare. | 372 | Browning's <i>Love Among the</i> | |
| Bell, C. H., The Call of the | | <i>Ruins</i> | 312 |
| Blood in Mediæval German | | —'s <i>The Ring and the Book</i> , | 183 |
| Epic | 17 | Bruns, F., A Book of German | |
| Belshazzar | 355 | Lyrics | 431 |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|---|------|--|----------|
| Burlingame, E. W., Etymology of <i>Burlingame</i> (<i>Burlingham</i>), | 123 | <i>Cid</i> , Corneille's..... | 296 |
| —, St. Cuthbert and the King's Daughter | 187 | <i>Cid</i> Theme in France..... | 296 |
| Burns and England..... | 76 | <i>Cleanness</i> | 355 |
| Call of the Blood..... | 17 | Clark, A. M., Thomas Heywood as a Critic..... | 217 |
| Callaway, M., Jr., The Dative of Time How Long in Old English | 129 | Classicism, French..... | 244 |
| Campbell, T., Poems..... | 343 | Coad, O. S., An Old American College Play..... | 157 |
| Campbell, T. M.: E. Ermatinger, Das dichterische Kunstwerk, | 362 | Cohen, G., Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle..... | 434 |
| <i>Captives</i> , Heywood's..... | 63 | —, <i>Mystères et Moralités</i> du manuscrit 617 de Chantilly, | 106 |
| Carnival Comedy..... | 40 | Coleman, A.: L. F. Benedetto, Le origini di <i>Salammbô</i> | 175 |
| Catalogue of the Library of the late J. H. Wrenn..... | 237 | College Play..... | 157 |
| Causality in <i>Samson Agonistes</i> , | 333 | Collins Canon..... | 181 |
| Chambers, R. W., <i>Beowulf</i> , an Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn | 418 | Collitz, H., Germanische Wortdeutungen | 215, 274 |
| Chantilly, manuscrit 617 de —, | 106 | Colton, M. A.: T. Navarro Tomás, Manual de Pronunciación Española..... | 227 |
| <i>Château d'Amour</i> | 49 | <i>Comedia del Infamador</i> | 206 |
| Chateaubriand et l'Abbé C. F. Painchaud | 101 | Comedy, German Carnival —. | 40 |
| — et Mrs. Sutton..... | 193 | Comment on Milton's <i>History of Britain</i> | 474 |
| Chaucer's <i>Prologue</i> , 1-7..... | 86 | Composition, French..... | 370 |
| —'s <i>Wife of Bath's Tale</i> ... | 339 | <i>Comus</i> , Milton's..... | 118 |
| <i>Chevy Chase</i> | 436 | Confrey, B., A Note on Richard Crashaw..... | 250 |
| Chew, S. C.: A. C. Judson, Thomas Heywood, <i>The Captives; or the Lost Recovered</i> | 63 | Cons, L., La Préface des Fables de La Fontaine..... | 246 |
| —: T. R. Smith, Anthology of Swinburne's <i>Poems</i> | 128 | Constans, A., Georges de Scudéry's Lost Epic..... | 212 |
| Chinard, G. Chateaubriand et l'Abbé C. F. Painchaud..... | 101 | Conversation, French..... | 370 |
| —, Chateaubriand et Mrs. Sutton: l'épilogue d'un roman d'amour | 193 | <i>Coriolanus</i> | 449 |
| —: G. Atkinson, The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature before 1700; The Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature from 1700 to 1720..... | 491 | Corneille's <i>Cid</i> | 296 |
| —: W. P. Ker, <i>Fleurs de France</i> , Poésies lyriques depuis le Romantisme..... | 320 | —'s Relations with Louis Petit | 307 |
| Christ, Sepulchre of..... | 367 | Coryate, Tom..... | 53 |
| Church-and-Stage Controversy in Granada..... | 284 | <i>Course, la, du flambeau</i> | 511 |
| Church, H. W., Kuhns, O., and —, E. Rostand, <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> | 47 | Covarruvias | 320 |
| | | Crane, R. S., An Early Eighteenth-Century Enthusiast for Primitive Poetry: John Husbands | 27 |
| | | Crashaw, Richard..... | 250 |
| | | Crawford, A. W., A Note on <i>Julius Caesar</i> | 164 |
| | | —, Keats's <i>Ode to the Nightingale</i> | 476 |
| | | Critic, Thomas Heywood as a —, | 217 |
| | | Cultural Relations of Woman, | 482 |
| | | Cummings, H., Chaucer's <i>Prologue</i> , 1-7..... | 86 |
| | | Cueva's <i>Comedia del Infamador</i> and the Don Juan Legend.. | 206 |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|------|---|---------|
| <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> | 47 | Evening Star in Milton..... | 444 |
| <i>Dama boba</i> | 167 | Extraordinary Voyage in French Literature | 491 |
| Dance of Death in Shakespeare, | 372 | | |
| Dante Notes..... | 36 | | |
| Dargan, E. P.: G. N. Henning, Hervieu, <i>La Course du flambeau</i> | 511 | <i>Fables de La Fontaine</i> | 246 |
| Dative of Time How Long in Old English..... | 129 | Fairy, Sylvestre Bonnard and the —..... | 248 |
| Deluge | 355 | <i>Fairy Queen</i> | 223 |
| dichterische Kunstwerk, Das.. | 362 | Farnham, W., Scogan's <i>Quem Quaeritis</i> | 289 |
| Did Wordsworth jest with Matthew? | 279 | Favart's <i>La Fée Urgele</i> | 339 |
| Don Juan Legend..... | 206 | Fay, P. B.: O. Towles, Prepositional Phrases of Asseveration and Adjuration in Old and Middle French..... | 292 |
| Drama, Folk-Lore Themes in —, | 339 | <i>Fée Urgele</i> | 339 |
| Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega, | 167 | Feminine Nouns and Adjectives in Lope de Vega..... | 398 |
| — Associations of the Easter Sepulchre | 62 | Finn, Story of..... | 418 |
| Draper, J. W.: T. J. Wise, A Catalogue of the Library of the late J. H. Wrenn..... | 237 | Flaubert and War-Brides..... | 183 |
| Early Eighteenth Century Enthusiast for Primitive Poetry: John Husbards..... | 27 | —'s <i>Salammô</i> | 175 |
| Easter Sepulchre..... | 62 | "Fléau" | 96 |
| Écrivains français en Hollande, | 434 | Fletcher's <i>Women Pleased</i> | 339 |
| Eddy, W. A., A Source for Gulliver's First Voyage..... | 353 | —, Massinger and —'s <i>Barnavelt</i> | 470 |
| —, Rabelais,—A Source for <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> | 416 | Fleurs de France, Poésies lyriques depuis le Romantisme, | 320 |
| Eighteenth-Century Emendations to <i>Chevy Chase</i> | 436 | Folk-Lore Themes in Drama.. | 339 |
| Elton, O., A Survey of English Literature, 1780-1880..... | 110 | Forgotten Lovelace MS..... | 407 |
| Elyot's, Sir Thomas, <i>Titus and Gysippus</i> | 1 | Fortunes of Lamartine in Spain, | 458 |
| Emendations to <i>Chevy Chase</i> .. | 436 | Français, Écrivains — en Hollande | 434 |
| Emerson, O. F., Milton's <i>Comus</i> , 93-94 | 118 | France, Cid Theme in —..... | 296 |
| England, Burns and —..... | 76 | —, Tassoni in —..... | 447 |
| — and the Englishman in German Literature of the 18th Century..... | 448 | France, Anatole..... | 56, 248 |
| English for the English..... | 445 | Frank, Grace: N. C. Brooks, The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy with Special Reference to the Liturgic Drama | 367 |
| — Literature..... | 110 | —: G. Cohen, <i>Mystères et Moralités du manuscrit 617 de Chantilly</i> | 106 |
| — Poets..... | 443 | —: K. Young, The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre | 62 |
| Enthusiast for Primitive Poetry, | 27 | Freeman, A. M., Vanessa and Her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift..... | 255 |
| Epic, Lost —..... | 212 | French, J. C.: R. L. Ramsay, Short Stories of America... .. | 502 |
| —, Mediæval German..... | 17 | —: C. Van Doren, The American Novel..... | 115 |
| Ermatinger, E., Das dichterische Kunstwerk..... | 362 | French Classicism..... | 244 |
| Erroneous Ascription to Wyatt, | 188 | — Conversation and Composition | 370 |
| Errors in Beauchamps' <i>Recherches</i> | 466 | | |
| Etymology of <i>Burlingame</i> (<i>Burlingham</i>) | 123 | | |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|----------|---|-----------|
| French Literature..... | 64, 491 | Haxo, H. E., Pierre Bayle and his Biographers..... | 55 |
| — Lyric Poetry..... | 320 | Heidelberger Romantik..... | 482 |
| — Phrases..... | 292 | Henning, G. N.: P. Hervieu, <i>La Course du flambeau</i> | 511 |
| "Fuir" | 96 | Hervieu, P., <i>La Course du flambeau</i> | 511 |
| Galerie du Palais..... | 117 | Heuser, F. W. J.: P. R. Lie- der, Scott and Scandinavian Literature | 303 |
| <i>garçon</i> | 385 | Heywood, Thomas, as a Critic, —, <i>The Captives; or the Lost Recovered</i> | 217 63 |
| Ghost in <i>Hamlet</i> | 185 | "Hier" | 96 |
| Gillet, J. E., Church-and-Stage Controversy in Granada.... | 284 | Hill, J. M., Index Verborum de Covarruvias Orozco..... | 320 |
| —, Cueva's <i>Comedia del In- famador</i> and the Don Juan Legend | 206 | Hills, E. C., Thomas Jefferson and Molière..... | 443 |
| Glicksman, H., A Comment on Milton's <i>History of Britain</i> , 474 | | —: J. M. Hill, Index Verbo- rum de Covarruvias Orozco, 320 | |
| George, Stefan..... | 82, 313 | —: R. Schevill, <i>The Drama- tic Art of Lope de Vega, to- gether with la Dama boba</i> . Edited | 167 |
| German Carnival Comedy.... | 40 | <i>History of Britain</i> | 474 |
| — Epic..... | 17 | Hochdeutsche Umgangssprache, 512 | |
| — Lexicography..... | 390 | Hollande, Écrivains français en | 434 |
| — Literature..... | 448, 482 | <i>Hound of Heaven</i> | 124 |
| — Lyrics..... | 431 | Hughes, Helen S., A Letter to Richardson from Edward Young | 314 |
| Germanische Wortdeutungen.. | 215, 274 | Husbands, John..... | 27 |
| Germanisches Reckentum: frz. <i>garçon</i> | 385 | Immermann | 482 |
| Geschichte der deutschen Lite- ratur | 482 | Impromptu of Voltaire Com- pleted | 58 |
| Getchev, G.: H. V. Wann, French Conversation and Composition, 370 | | Index Verborum de Covarruvias Orozco | 320 |
| Goethe über seine Dichtungen, 300 | | Jefferson, Thomas, and Molière. 443 | |
| Gollancz, Sir Israel, <i>Cleanness</i> , an Alliterative Tripartite Poem | 355 | Jespersen, O., Language: its Nature, Development, and Origin | 379 |
| Goode, C. T., Sir Thomas Ely- ot's <i>Titus and Gysippus</i> | 1 | Johnson, Samuel..... | 11 |
| Gowen, H. H., Jottings..... | 183 | Johnston, O. M., Note on <i>Por ce que, Parce que, and Pour que</i> , 310 | |
| Gräff, H. G. Goethe über seine Dichtungen | 300 | Jottings | 183 |
| Granada | 284 | Judson, A. C., A Forgotten Lovelace Manuscript..... | 407 |
| Grosseteste, Robert..... | 49 | —, Thomas Heywood, <i>The Captives; or the Lost Re- covered</i> | 63 |
| Guilloux, P., <i>L'Esprit de Renan</i> , 428 | | <i>Julius Caesar</i> | 164, 374 |
| <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> | 353, 416 | | |
| Hamilton, G. L.: J. Murray, <i>Le château d'Amour</i> de Ro- bert Grosseteste évêque de Lincoln | 49 | | |
| <i>Hamlet</i> | 185 | | |
| Hammond, E. P., Poems "Signed" by Sir Thomas Wyatt..... | 505 | | |
| Hanford, J. H., The Evening Star in Milton..... | 444 | | |
| Hardy, A., <i>La Folie de Clida- mant</i> | 121 | | |
| Hawthorne's <i>Scarlet Letter</i> ... | 58 | | |

| PAGE | PAGE |
|---|---|
| Kaye, F. B. , Seventeenth Century Reference to Shakespeare, 248 | —: G. L. Van Roosbroeck, The Cid Theme in France in 1660; The Purpose of Corneille's <i>Cid</i> 296 |
| Keats's <i>Ode to the Nightingale</i> , 476 | —: C. H. C. Wright, French Classicism 244 |
| Kelly, J. A., England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century 448 | Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech..... 188 |
| Ker, W. P., <i>Fleurs de France</i> , <i>Poésies lyriques depuis le Romantisme</i> 320 | —: its Nature, Development, and Origin..... 379 |
| Kern, A. A., <i>King Lear</i> and <i>Pelleas and Ettarre</i> 153 | Lanson's <i>Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française</i> .. 64 |
| <i>King Lear</i>153, 346, 504 | Law, R. A., The Background of Browning's <i>Love Among the Ruins</i> 312 |
| King's Daughter..... 187 | Le Buffe, F. P., <i>The Hound of Heaven</i> : An Interpretation, 124 |
| Klaeber, Fr., "Looking Under the Sun"..... 376 | Legend, Don Juan 206 |
| Kleist, Heinrich von..... 321 | Letter to Richardson from Edward Young..... 314 |
| Kluge, F., <i>Germanisches Rekentum</i> : frz. <i>garçon</i> 385 | Levin, H., <i>Die Heidelberger Romantik</i> 482 |
| Knowlton, E. C., Causality in <i>Samson Agonistes</i> 333 | Lexicography, German..... 390 |
| Kosch, W., <i>Geschichte der deutschen Literatur</i> 482 | Lieder, P. R., Scott and Scandinavian Literature..... 303 |
| Kretschmer, P., <i>Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache</i> 512 | Lincoln, Robert Grosseteste évêque de 49 |
| Küchler, W., Ernest Renan, der Dichter und der Künstler.. 428 | Literature, English..... 110 |
| Kuhl, E. P., A Song and a Pun in Shakespeare..... 437 | —, French.....64, 491 |
| Kuhns, O., and H. W. Church, E. Rostand, <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> , 47 | —, German.....448, 482 |
| Kunstwerk, Das dichterische.. 362 | —, Scandinavian..... 303 |
| Kurrelmeyer, W., German Lexicography, Part IV..... 390 | Litz, F. A.: Jennie M. Tabb, Father Tabb, His Life and Work 255 |
| —: P. Kretschmer, <i>Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache</i> 512 | Liturgie Drama..... 367 |
| La Fontaine , <i>Fables de</i> 246 | "Looking Under the Sun"... 376 |
| Lamartine in Spain..... 458 | Lope de Vega, Nouns and Adjectives in 398 |
| Lancaster, H. C., A Reply.... 118 | —'s Dramatic Art..... 167 |
| —, Errors in Beauchamps' <i>Recherches sur les Théâtres de France</i> 466 | — <i>la Dama boba</i> 167 |
| —, Seventeenth-Century Prosody: "Hier"; "Fléau"; "Meurtrier"; "Fuir".... 96 | Lost Epic..... 212 |
| —: G. Cohen, <i>Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVIIe siècle</i> , 434 | — Play by A. Hardy..... 121 |
| —: O. Kuhns and H. W. Church, <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> par Edmond Rostand; A. G. H. Spiers, Edmond Rostand, <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> 47 | <i>Love Among the Ruins</i> 312 |
| | Lovejoy, A. O., Reply to Professor Babbitt..... 268 |
| | Lovelace Manuscript..... 407 |
| | <i>Lycidas</i> 470 |
| | Lyric Poetry, French..... 320 |
| | Lyrics, German..... 431 |
| | McCutcheon, R. P. , Two Eighteenth-Century Emendations to <i>Chevy Chase</i> 436 |
| | Mackall, L. L.: H. G. Gräff, Goethe über seine Dichtungen, 300 |
| | McKillop, A. D., A Poem in the Collins Canon..... 181 |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|----------|---|------|
| Manual de Pronunciación Española | 227 | Nicolson, Marjorie N., More's <i>Psychozoia</i> | 141 |
| Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française | 64 | Note on <i>Julius Caesar</i> | 164 |
| Manuscript, Lovelace — | 407 | — on Maupassant | 186 |
| Mare and the Wolf | 350 | — on <i>Por ce que, Parce que, and Pour que</i> | 310 |
| Marinoni, A., A Note on Maupassant | 186 | — on Richard Crashaw | 250 |
| Martin, H. M., Termination of Qualifying Words before Feminine Nouns and Adjectives in the Plays of Lope de Vega | 398 | — on <i>The Scarlet Letter</i> | 58 |
| Masefield's Vocabulary | 148 | Notes on Burns and England .. | 76 |
| Mason, J. F.: P. Guilloux, L'Esprit de Renan; L. F. Mott, Ernest Renan; W. Kùchler, Ernest Renan, der Dichter und Künstler | 428 | — on <i>King Lear</i> | 346 |
| Massinger and Fletcher's <i>Barnavelt</i> | 470 | Nouns in Lope de Vega | 398 |
| Maupassant | 186 | Novel, American | 115 |
| Mayne, H., Immermann. Der Mann und sein Werk | 482 | Ode to the Nightingale | 476 |
| Mediæval German Epic | 17 | Offa, Story of | 418 |
| Menner, R. J.: Sir Israel Gollancz, <i>Cleanness</i> , an Alliterative Tripartite Poem | 355 | Old American College Play .. | 157 |
| Merrill, L. R., Vaughan's Influence upon Wordsworth's Poetry | 91 | — English, Dative of Time How Long | 129 |
| Metaphysical Poets | 11 | — French <i>aigre</i> , "vinegar," .. | 438 |
| Metre, Study of | 59 | — — Phrases | 292 |
| "Meurtrier" | 96 | Omond, T. S., A Study of Metre .. | 59 |
| Middle French Phrases | 292 | —, A Brief Rejoinder | 181 |
| Milton, The Evening Star in —, —'s <i>Comus</i> , 93-94 | 118 | Origin of the German Carnival Comedy | 40 |
| —'s <i>History of Britain</i> | 474 | Origini di <i>Salammbo</i> | 175 |
| —'s <i>Lycidas</i> and the Play of <i>Barnavelt</i> | 470 | Painchaud, C. F. | 101 |
| —'s Prosody | 316 | Pancoast, H. S., Did Wordsworth jest with Matthew? .. | 279 |
| —'s <i>Samson Agonistes</i> | 333 | <i>Parce que</i> | 310 |
| Molière, Jefferson, Thomas, and — | 443 | Patch, H. R.: R. W. Chambers, <i>Beowulf</i> , an Introduction to the Study of the Poem with a Discussion of the Stories of Offa and Finn | 418 |
| More's <i>Psychozoia</i> | 141, 379 | <i>Pearl</i> | 355 |
| Mott, L. F., Ernest Renan .. | 428 | Peers, E. A., The Fortunes of Lamartine in Spain | 458 |
| Murray, Alma, and Shelley .. | 411 | <i>Pelleas and Ettare</i> | 153 |
| Murray, J., <i>Le château d'Amour</i> de Robert Grosseteste évêque de Lincoln | 49 | Petit, Louis | 307 |
| Murry, J. M., The Problem of Style | 506 | Philetas | 56 |
| Mystères et Moralités du manuscrit 617 de Chantilly | 106 | Philological Quarterly | 254 |
| Nethercot, A. H., The Term "Metaphysical Poets" before Johnson | 11 | Phrases of Asseveration and Adjuration | 292 |
| | | Play, Old American College — .. | 157 |
| | | Poem in the Collins Canon .. | 181 |
| | | Poems by T. Campbell | 343 |
| | | — "Signed" by Sir Thomas Wyatt | 505 |
| | | Poésies lyriques | 320 |
| | | Poetry, Primitive | 27 |
| | | —, Wordsworth's | 91 |
| | | Poets, English | 443 |
| | | <i>Por ce que</i> | 310 |
| | | Porterfield, A. W.: H. Mayne, Immermann. Der Mann und sein Werk; H. Levin, Die Heidelberger Romantik; W. | |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|---|----------|--|---------------|
| Kosch, Geschichte der deutschen Literatur; M. G. Bach, Wieland's Attitude toward Woman and her Cultural and Social Relations..... | 482 | Rowe, Mary B., Old French <i>aigre</i> , "vinegar,"..... | 438 |
| Portmanteau Word of 1761: "Tomax" | 377 | Rudmose-Brown, T. B., <i>La Galerie du Palais</i> | 117 |
| Postliminear Corollarium for Coryate | 53 | Rudwin, J. M., The Origin of the German Carnival Comedy, | 40 |
| Potter, G. R., "Sweet, Reluctant, Amorous Delay" among some Eighteenth-Century English Poets..... | 443 | St. Cuthbert and the King's Daughter | 187 |
| <i>Pour que</i> | 310 | Sainte-Beuve | 183 |
| Préface des Fables de La Fontaine | 246 | <i>Salammbô</i> | 175 |
| Prepositional Phrases of Asseveration and Adjuration in Old and Middle French..... | 292 | Sampson, G., English for the English | 445 |
| Primitive Poetry..... | 27 | <i>Samson Agonistes</i> | 333 |
| Problem of Style..... | 506 | Sapir, E., Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech, Scandinavian Literature..... | 188 303 |
| Pronunciación Española..... | 227 | <i>Scarlet Letter, The</i> | 58 |
| Prosody, Milton's..... | 316 | Schaffer, A., <i>The Trente-six balades joyeuses</i> of Théodore de Banville | 328 |
| <i>Psychozoia</i> , More's..... | 141, 379 | Schevill, R., The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega, together with <i>la Dama boba</i> . Edited, | 167 |
| Pun in Shakespeare..... | 437 | Schiffer, E., Tassoni in Frankreich | 447 |
| Purpose of Corneille's <i>Cid</i> | 296 | Schiller and Romanticism..... | 257 |
| Qualifying Words in Lope de Vega | 398 | Schoenemann, F.: J. A. Kelly, England and the Englishman in German Literature of the Eighteenth Century..... | 448 |
| <i>Quem Quaeritis</i> | 289 | Scogan's <i>Quem Quaeritis</i> | 289 |
| Rabelais,—A Source for <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> | 416 | Scott and Scandinavian Literature | 303 |
| Ramsay, R. L., Short Stories of America..... | 502 | Scudéry's, Georges de, Lost Epic, Semantic Analysis..... | 212 251 |
| Rational and Emotional Elements in Heinrich von Kleist, | 321 | Sepulchre, Easter —..... | 62 |
| Raven, A. A., A Study in Masfield's Vocabulary..... | 148 | — of Christ in Art and Liturgy with Special Reference to the Liturgic Drama..... | 367 |
| Rea, J. D., <i>Julius Caesar</i> II, i, 10-34 | 374 | Seventeenth Century Prosody, | 96 |
| <i>Recherches sur les Théâtres de France</i> | 466 | — — Reference to Shakespeare | 248 |
| Reckentum, germanisches..... | 385 | Shafer, R., Henry More's <i>Psychozoia</i> | 379 |
| Renan, Ernest..... | 428 | Shakespeare, Dance of Death in —..... | 372 |
| Reply | 118 | —, references to —..... | 248 |
| — to Professor Babbitt..... | 268 | —, Song and Pun in —..... | 437 |
| Richardson, Samuel..... | 314 | —'s <i>Coriolanus</i> | 449 |
| Rimes of Stefan George..... | 82, 313 | —'s <i>Hamlet</i> | 185 |
| Rôle of the Ghost in <i>Hamlet</i> .. | 185 | —'s <i>Julius Caesar</i> | 164, 374 |
| Romanticism, Schiller and —.. | 257 | —'s <i>King Lear</i> | 153, 346, 504 |
| Romantik, Heidelberger..... | 482 | —'s Manipulation of his Sources in <i>As You Like It</i> .. | 65 |
| Ross, E. C., A Note on <i>The Scarlet Letter</i> | 58 | —'s Tragedies..... | 449 |
| Rostand, E., <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> | 47 | | |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|------|---|----------|
| Shelley's Debt to Alma Murray, 411 | | Tabb, Jennie M. , Father Tabb, His Life and Work..... | 255 |
| Shorey, P., A Postlimnear Cor- ollarium for Coryate..... | 53 | Tamblyn, W. F., Notes on <i>King Lear</i> | 346 |
| Short Stories of America..... | 502 | Tassoni in Frankreich..... | 447 |
| Silz, W., Rational and Emo- tional Elements in Heinrich von Kleist..... | 321 | Tatlock, J. S. P., "Under the Sonne" | 377 |
| Smith, C. A., "Under the sonne he loketh"..... | 120 | Tennyson's <i>Pelleas and Ettare</i> , 153 | |
| Smith, T. R., Anthology of Swinburne's <i>Poems</i> | 128 | Term "Metaphysical Poets" before Johnson..... | 11 |
| Snyder, E. D.: C. B. Tinker, Young Boswell: Chapters on James Boswell..... | 498 | Termination of Qualifying Words before Feminine Nouns and Adjectives in the Plays of Lope de Vega..... | 398 |
| Snyder, F. B., Notes on Burns and England..... | 76 | Théâtres de France..... | 466 |
| Social Relations of Woman... 482 | | Theory, Semantic | 251 |
| Sodom, Destruction of..... | 355 | Thompson's, Francis, <i>The Hound of Heaven</i> | 124 |
| Song and a Pun in Shakespeare, 437 | | Time How Long in Old English, 129 | |
| Source for <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> ... 353, 416 | | Tinker, C. B.: Young Boswell: Chapters on James Boswell, 498 | |
| Spain, Lamartine in —..... | 458 | <i>Titus and Gysippus</i> | 1 |
| Spanish Pronunciation..... | 227 | Tolman, A. H., Shakespeare's Manipulation of his Sources in <i>As You Like It</i> | 65 |
| Speech, Study of..... | 188 | —, The Structure of Shake- speare's Tragedies with spe- cial reference to <i>Coriolanus</i> , 449 | |
| Spenser's <i>Fairy Queen</i> | 223 | Tomás, T. Navarro, Manual de Pronunciación Española.... | 227 |
| Spiers, A. G. H., Edmond Ro- stand, <i>Cyrano de Bergerac</i> , 47 | | "Tomax" | 377 |
| Stanza-Connection in the <i>Fairy Queen</i> | 223 | Towles, O., Prepositional Phrases of Asseveration and Adjura- tion in Old and Middle French, 292 | |
| Starck, T., The Rimes of Ste- fan George..... | 313 | <i>Trente-six ballades joyeuses</i> of Théodore de Banville..... | 328 |
| Starnes, D. T., An Erroneous Ascription to Wyatt..... | 188 | Tupper, J. W.: A. M. Freeman, Vanessa and Her Correspond- ence with Jonathan Swift.. | 255 |
| Stern, G., 'Swift,' 'Swiftly,' and their Synonyms..... | 251 | Umgangssprache , hochdeutsche, 512 | |
| Structure of Shakespeare's Tra- gedies | 449 | Unacknowledged Poems by Tho- mas Campbell..... | 343 |
| Stuart, D. C.: J. M. Rudwin, The Origin of the German Carnival Comedy..... | 40 | "Under the sonne he loketh". 120 | |
| Study in Masefield's Vocabulary, 148 | | — the Sonne"..... | 376, 377 |
| — of Metre..... | 59 | Van Doren, C. , The American Novel | 115 |
| — of Speech..... | 188 | Van Roosbroeck, G. L., An Im- promptu of Voltaire Completed, 58 | |
| Style, Problem of..... | 506 | —, Corneille's Relations with Louis Petit..... | 307 |
| Survey of English Literature, 1780-1880 | 110 | —, The Cid Theme in France in 1660; The Purpose of Cor- neille's <i>Cid</i> | 296 |
| Sutton, Mrs. | 193 | | |
| "Sweet, Reluctant, Amorous Delay" among some Eigh- teenth-Century English Poets, 443 | | | |
| 'Swift,' 'Swiftly,' and their Synonyms | 251 | | |
| Swift, Jonathan..... | 255 | | |
| —'s <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> ... 353, 416 | | | |
| Swinburne's <i>Poems</i> | 128 | | |
| Synonyms | 251 | | |

| | PAGE | | PAGE |
|--|---------|---|----------|
| —, A Lost Play by Alexandre Hardy: <i>La Follie de Clidamant</i> | 121 | A Study in the Transformation of Folk-Lore Themes in Drama | 339 |
| —, Sylvestre Bonnard and the Fairy | 248 | Williams, R. C.: E. Schiffer, Tassoni in Frankreich | 447 |
| — Verses attributed to Voltaire | 440 | Wise, T. J., A Catalogue of the Library of the late J. H. Wrenn | 237 |
| Vanessa and Her Correspondence with Jonathan Swift | 255 | Withington, R., A Portmanteau Word of 1761: "Tomax" | 377 |
| Vaughan's Influence upon Wordsworth's Poetry | 91 | Woman, Cultural and Social Relations of | 482 |
| Verses attributed to Voltaire .. | 440 | <i>Women Pleased</i> | 339 |
| "vinegar," O. F. aigre, — | 438 | Woodbridge, B. M., Flaubert and War-Brides | 183 |
| Vocabulary, Masefield's | 148 | —, Sylvestre Bonnard and Philetas | 56 |
| Vogt, G. C., <i>The Wife of Bath's Tale, Women Pleased, and La Fée Urgle: A Study in the Transformation of Folk-Lore Themes in Drama</i> | 339 | Wordsworth and Matthew | 279 |
| Voltaire | 58, 440 | —'s Poetry | 91 |
| Vos, B. J.: F. Bruns, A Book of German Lyrics | 431 | Wortdentungen, Germanische .. | 215, 274 |
| Voyage, Extraordinary | 491 | Wortgeographie der hochdeutschen Umgangssprache | 512 |
| Wann, H. V., French Conversation and Composition | 370 | Wrenn, J. H., Library of — .. | 237 |
| Wann, L., Milton's <i>Lycidas</i> and the Play of <i>Barnavelt</i> | 470 | Wright, C. H. C., French Classicism | 244 |
| War-Brides | 183 | Wyatt, Sir Thomas | 188, 505 |
| White, N. L., Shelley's Debt to Alma Murray | 411 | Young, Edward | 314 |
| Wieland's Attitude toward Woman | 482 | Young, K., The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre | 62 |
| <i>Wife of Bath's Tale, Women Pleased, and La Fée Urgle:</i> | | Zeydel, E. H., The Rimes of Stefan George | 82 |

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